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J.W. Bengough and Grip the Canadian editorial cartoon comes of age

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J.W. BENGOUGH AND GRIP:

The Canadian Editorial Cartoon Comes of Age

by

Dennis Edward Blake

B.A., Wilfrid Laurier University, 1983.

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ABSTRACT

John Wilson Bengough (1851-1923) was Canada's premier editorial cartoonist of the nineteenth century. Influenced by the artistic techniques and fame of American cartoonist Thomas Nast, Bengough began the publication in 1873 of Grip, a comic weekly that featured his own editorial cartoons. The journal achieved instant recognition and fame with a series of biting cartoons that put Sir John A. Macdonald's Conservatives on public trial during the Pacific Railway Scandal of 1873. Grip went on to enjoy a twenty year print run during which Bengough established a tradition for editorial cartooning in Canada. Grip's popularity also launched Bengough upon a creative career of drawing, lecturing and writing that brought him international fame and the status of a social pundit.

This thesis recounts the breadth of J.W. Bengough's life and career. It delineates Grip's position within the press of the late nineteenth century as a liberal reform journal, and paints a picture of a Canadian media that, because of its highly moral and ideological parameters, enticed Bengough into a press career with the promise of a forum for his beliefs and art. A close look at the early series of Pacific Scandal Cartoons provides an examination of Bengough's artistic talents and political maturity, along with confirming the basis for Bengough's claim to immortality in the realm of Canadian editorial cartooning.

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INTRODUCTION

John Wilson Bengough was Canada's premier editorial cartoonist of the nineteenth century. In 1873, at the age of twenty-two, Bengough, as editor, cartoonist and major contributor, began the publication of the weekly comic journal Grip from a small basement office on Front Street in Toronto. The success of this cartoon-oriented journal was phenomenal as Bengough's illustrated campaign against Sir John A. Macdonald's and the Conservative Party's involvement in the Pacific Railway Scandal set a standard for cartoon excellence and echoed the indignation of a corruption weary Canadian populace. Bengough's twenty year tenure at Grip and his ensuing work at many of North America's and Great Britain's finest newspapers and journals provided an unequalled forum for his artistic talents, deeply felt social beliefs and Liberal Reform philosophy, for half a century. His Presbyterian roots made him a champion of the temperance movement and his liberal egalitarian outlook thrust him to the forefront of the single tax movement in Canada. Bengough was a strident opponent of political corruption and

social injustice in all its forms, sometimes morally heavy-handed in his scathing editorial attacks, but more often providing a gentle sophisticated comic touch quite unique in the political cartoon of his era.

Emulating Charles Dickens, whose work he admired immensely, Bengough began, shortly after the creation of Grip, a series of illustrated lecture tours that carried him across the North American continent, to Great Britain, and as far afield as Australia and New Zealand. Renowned as an author, poet and cartoonist, Bengough lived life at a demanding pace until his death, while at his drawing board, in 1923. The grand old man of Canadian political cartooning, Bengough left a legacy of humour, as can be viewed in his cartoons for Grip, and as underscored in the debt owed to his groundbreaking work by successive generations of editorial cartoonists.

Bengough's cartoons are well-known to Canadian historians and have been used quite effectively to illustrate contemporary political and social beliefs, and to flesh out and strengthen historical argument. The cartoons provided the feel and native colour of an era truly lost to modern sensibilities. Bengough's cartoons grace Donald Creighton's masterful two volume study of the life of Sir John A. Macdonald, are effectively integrated within H.V. Nelles' and Christopher Armstrong's The Revenge of the Methodist Bicycle Company (1977) and command a certain prominence in Peter B. Waite's Arduous Destiny: Canada 1874-1896

(1971). His work has also been showcased upon the covers of Ontario History, among other journals.

While Bengough's cartoons still live in the academic press, and have to a very limited extent been revived in a 1973 abridged reprint of his 1886 A Caricature History of Canadian Politics, John Wilson Bengough, the indivrdual, has been, if not forgotten, then at least relegated to historical limbo. Aside from a rather unbalanced 1975 M.A. thesis that spends an inordinate number of pages avoiding the fact that Bengough was an artist and a very witty man, Bengough has not been granted his due as a unique and legitimate voice of late nineteenth century reform.(1) For example it is surprising to note that though Bengough's work was a favourite of Creighton's, as evidenced by its use in many of his books and articles, one can search in vain for a mention of Bengough's name in any selected text or index. Other historians share in this unfortunate tendency. There is a certain irony in the fact that Bengough's cartoons are used to bring the nineteenth century to life but that the man himself remains in obscurity.

The events of the life of J.W. Bengough have been locked away for decades within the cardboard covers of various volumes of Canadian Who's Who and in boxes upon archive shelves. Few reputations survive beyond death unless immortalized in some fashion within popular legend or, more rarely, enshrined by religious or political favour. Bengough was no exception. When

the obituary clippings were filed in late 1923, J.W. Bengough was sadly reduced to little more that a memory in the minds of surviving acquaintances and a collection of loosely etched lines inside dated and yellowed copies of Grip. These lines that created the form and dimension of the editorial cartoon are the only lasting legacy that time has concretely left with us from Bengough's career.

The facts of John Wilson Bengough's life have not been collected in any critical fashion that illuminates the quite remarkable and now quite forgotten career that was enjoyed by this artist. Indeed, Bengough and his times deserve an exploration at much greater depth than the space constraints of a Master's thesis would allow. Nevertheless, it is felt that the examination of career, character and ideology contained within will do justice to Bengough, and especially the editorial cartoon. The major details of Bengough's career can be well-detailed and documented. He foremost lived the life of an artist and entertainer. He was never an ideologue but he believed in the Liberal Reform values that promoted a responsible morality in government. If the opening chapter does no more for some readers than paint a picture of a life well lived, then in a limited sense it has served its purpose. It is wished that for those seeking only a general knowledge of Bengough, the man and the career, that the first chapter can stand independent from the more analytical chapters -- be useful and, with hope, be enjoyed

for its more traditional flavour.

If one considers the overview of Bengough's life in the first chapter as a grand introduction, the second chapter will critically review the political culture of the period in which Bengough introduced his most successful venture, Grip. The story of the nineteenth century Canadian media has as yet only been touched upon, and a work such as Paul Rutherford's A Victorian Authority: The Daily Press in Nineteenth Century Canada (1982), which really only looks at the 1890s with depth, needs to be complemented by research that not only extends the knowledge of different periods of Canadian media history but that also critically examines the other genres of the popular press: the urban and rural weekly newspapers, the magazine press, and that wealth of now obscure journals -- the comic weekly.(2) Fortunately, the politicized nature of Grip makes many of Rutherford's insightful conclusions concerning the nature of the daily press applicable to Bengough's journal, and the ideology of Reform Liberalism has been well examined by such giants of Canadian historiography as Frank Underhill and J.M.S. Careless. The few paragraphs in Careless' Brown of the Globe (1963) on the relationship between Reform Liberalism and Free Kirk Presbyterianism surely deserve an expanded treatise of their own, but the links are there and presented forcefully enough from which to draw confident conclusions.(3) This chapter provides the portrait of a Canadian media that encouraged and enticed such an

individual as Bengough into its ranks. The media was conducive to and receptive to high moral beliefs, firmly held ideological and partisan convictions and, as technology allowed such, the maturity in Canada of a new form of comment: the editorial cartoon.

The third chapter takes a critical and in-depth look at Bengough's finest hours and arguably Canadian cartooning's finest works, the Pacific Scandal Cartoons of 1873. When it is realized that Bengough was the only cartoonist in Canada producing such quality works, we are left with a powerful perspective from which to view his accomplishments. As a cartoonist he reigned supreme for much of the tenure of his Grip career. Within the line borders of the cartoon he editorialized without rebuttal; his loose colloquial style and incisive wit were not to be matched. He was read and enjoyed, and he was read and castigated. But when one criticized or praised Bengough, invariably it was a cartoon of which one spoke. Bengough's cartoons: visual satiric representations of quite complex political realities that, because drawings surmounted the overused and connotatively limited written editorial, often reached an audience of unusual porportions.

As the infamous New York City boss politician, William Marcy Tweed, bitterly exclaimed over the exposé cartoons of the great Thomas Nast: "I don't care a straw for your newspaper articles....but [my constituents] can't help seeing them damned

pictures."(4) Bengough had the same gift for visual communication. He was an immense undisciplined talent and his work possessed a genius of its own as its parochial technique reflected the quaint, highly moral, and crowded flavour of his Victorian world.

INTRODUCTION ENDNOTES

(1) Stanley Paul Kutcher, John Wilson Bengough, Artist of Righteousness, M.A. Thesis, Department of History, McMaster University, 1975.

(2) Paul Rutherford Victorian Authority: The Daily Press in Nineteenth Century Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982). See Chapter II for a discussion of this work.

(3) J.M.S. Careless Brown of the Globe Vol.1 (Toronto: MacMillan, 1963), pp.20-21,59-60.

(4) Alexander B. Callow, The Tweed Ring (New York: Oxford University Press,1966),p.254.

CHAPTER I: THE LIFE OF J.W. BENGOUGH (1851-1923)

From Printer's Devil to Grand Old Man of Canadian Political Cartooning

Throughout his life John Wilson Bengough was a great admirer of the works of Charles Dickens and there would be a certain ironic satisfaction in being able to define Bengough's early upbringing in the moody Victorian terms of a Dickens' novel. Nevertheless, Bengough was born in Toronto, 7 April 1851, into neither evil circumstance nor marked poverty.(1) The second son of seven children, he was a member of a solid, if not prosperous, Presbyterian family.(2) His father, John Bengough, a native of St. Andrews, Scotland, was an accomplished cabinetmaker and stairbuilder who had established a small shop on Toronto's Victoria Street during the 1840s.(3) Toronto, the administrative centre of Canada West, was then a town of 16,000 with:

> Uneven ranks of red-brick, roughcast, and weathered wooden buildings stretched out along the low-lying shores of bright Toronto Bay. Beyond them, yellow fields rose gradually to a line of dark green pine forest that crowned the heights to the north. A few church towers stood out above the huddle of roof tops, against the rather sombre back drop of the heights:

> there was St. Andrew's, Presbyterian, and the rebuilt Anglican cathedral of St. James, quite imposing in a manner reminiscent of the later imitators of Wren.(4)

It was a bustling town, rapidly growing, holding as its motto: "Industry, Intelligence, Integrity." As the largest settlement in Canada West, Toronto was a prominent commercial town -- by no means economically dominant compared to sophisticated Montreal -- but well situated on what would be future transportation and communication pathways. Toronto lay on the edge of the hinterlands of the Northwest and in close commercial contact with Montreal and New York via the Erie Canal.(5)

In 1853, following opportunity and perhaps the unstated nineteenth century belief that moving on was akin to moving up (6), the elder Bengough moved his family into Toronto's hinterland and to the neighbouring small town of Whitby where he contributed his skills to the construction of the mansion, Trafalgar Castle.(7) His son, J.W. Bengough spent his formative years in undistinguished attendance at the local district and grammar schools where as neither "a plodder nor a brilliant student" he displayed a quick mind for the essence of problems and a retentive memory for detail that would serve him well in future years.(8) His lone academic honour during this period was in qualifying for the district school prize of general efficiency. He would later muse: "..how I ever attained such proficiency with the limited amount of hard studying that I indulged in, was a deep mystery to me." Perhaps the nature of

that particular award, a book entitled The Boyhood of Great Artists, sparked Bengough into unusual effort.(9)

Developing a "fondness for the pencil" in his early teens, the young Bengough began to reveal an unpolished and precocious talent that was recognized by both fellow schoolmates and that "formidable personage," the schoolmaster. Bengough always held a kind memory for a "far away merry Christmas" on which an intimidating schoolmaster presented to a surprised youth a small box of colourful paints.(10) In a 1937 address to the Toronto Bell Club, Thomas Bengough recalled the circumstances surrounding the creation of his older brother's "first real cartoon." J.W. had been isolated with a childhood fever and his eldest brother George had entered into the habit of bringing home to the "invalid" the Toronto daily newspapers from the local bookstore that he managed. On one occasion George's memory failed him and:

> J.W., who was always a voracious reader, took revenge by drawing a picture of his big brother walking along the street, swinging a cane, and seemingly quite unconscious of having left his head resting upon the mantlepiece.(11)

Early efforts at caricature afforded Bengough "a pleasant and convenient method of getting rid of time which [hung] heavy" and "of becoming oblivious" to the schoolwork which he often found tedious and disagreeable. With typical wit, Bengough in later years would regard it as remarkable that the school system as it then existed had produced so very few cartoonists. (12)

Cartooning was no more than an amusing hobby when Bengough graduated from grammar school, and his first attempts at a vocation were failures as he "flopped about considerably." He was attracted to the atmosphere of the photographer's studio but the drudgery and accompanying strong odour involved in the cleaning of collodran from the plates used for daguerreotypes left him ill. He briefly took the position of clerk in a local lawyer's office but "law forms and legal lore bore no charms" and it was not long before he was casting about for new employment.(13) Bengough betrayed evidence of a restlessness that was as indicative of ambition as it was of lack of direction. It appeared that any career that locked the mind, as well as the body, within the confines of an office was unacceptable.

With youthful perserverance, Bengough applied for a position on the local newspaper, the Whitby Gazette, and made a modest entrance into the world of journalism as a printer's devil. Bengough found that he was in his element as the:

> ...smell of printer's ink appealed to every fibre of [his] personality...and the click of movable types as he placed them in the composing stick was music to his ears.(14)

The Gazette was a small newspaper and under the auspices of the owner, the "dapper and witty" George Ham, Bengough's role as a printer's helper expanded into that of an active contributor. In addition to providing copy about local issues, Bengough also wrote jokes, short skits and some melodrama.(15) Bengough's

facility for working in the varied creative aspects of the print media was being tested by necessity. The renaissance nature of his talent was being established at a time when Bengough was beginning to realize the great scope for experimentation possible within a still formative Canadian tradition of journalism.

One of the advantages of working for the Gazette was an exposure to the exchange newspapers and magazines that crossed the editor's desk. Harper's Weekly became his favourite journal and he avidly followed the work of the magazine's principal cartoonist, Thomas Nast.(16) Bengough later noted that:

> ...I was among the thousands who studied with profound admiration [Nast's] elaborate and slashing full-page cartoons in that great journal of civilization against Boss Tweed and the Tammany Ring of New York.(17)

Thomas Nast was a giant among political cartoonists. Today few remember Nast as the creator of the familiar American political symbols of the Democratic donkey and the Republican elephant. Even fewer individuals realize that the present-day conception of St. Nicholas owes its refinement to the sentimental pen and adaptive imagination of Thomas Nast. As a social commentator, he touched upon "every manifestation of American life" in his cartoons, making over three thousand "moral judgements" in his relatively brief career.(18) As an artist, he was of unconmon achievement and possessed an "ability to impress the senses with form and fabric, a knack for simple and even monumental composition, a colour in black and white expressive of form and

sentiment."(19)

In the context of the nineteenth century, Nast's career spanned both the pre-industrial and 'modern' eras. An immigrant from Germany, Nast grew up within the ethnic mosaic that was the New York City of the period. Educated in the neighbourhood tradition of 'Little Germany', Nast brought a reform ethos to his work, always viewing reform in terms of personalities and events -- seldom in the more abstract terms of society's structural problems. Nast evolved from the intellectually primitive event-linked illustrator, prior to the American Civil War, into the 'modern' editorial cartoonist, a master of the subtleties of fine caricature. Nast stood head and shoulders above his American contemporaries. A daring, provocative artist, he brought a new professionalism to the field. He was one of those rare transitional figures that served as a human link between eras.(20) He was a complex man who dealt simply with complex issues, and he would prove to have an immense professional influence upon the future work of J.W. Bengough. For Bengough, Nast's work was '"wonderful -- sometimes even terrible in its power."(21) His "tremendous" abilities convinced Bengough that the "great and influential field known as cartooning" held growing and significant promise within the world of journalism.(22)

About 1870, with dreams of becoming a cartoonist fermenting, Bengough sent a cartoon drawn in Nast's style to the editor of

Harper's Weekly showing the Tweed Ring in obeisance to Nast. He was flattered when the editor returned a note that congratulated him on the accuracy of his mimicry. The submission also generated a personal acknowledgement from Thomas Nast which was received in the truest tradition of hero worship:

> ...the delight was complete....though I couldn't help remarking upon his carelessness in the matter of stationery, his letter being written upon a scrap of note paper which I thought far beneath the dignity of his position.(23)

In 1872, Bengough was a prepossessing young man of medium stature:

> ...with grey eyes that [looked] as tho' they could take in all sides of an question, dark hair and a manner that [implied] great activity in mind and body.(24)

With this energy of youth and the encouragement of Nast's response still fresh, Bengough left the Gazette and moved to Toronto where he found work as a reporter for the Globe, the major Liberal Reform newspaper of the period. Though he never sought such at the time, creative opportunity at the Globe was limited by the attitude of the owner editors, George and Gordon Brown:

> In the early seventies, the Browns, like most other daily newspapers publishers in Canada and the United States, had no perception of the part cartoons and illustrations were destined to play in the press.(25)

Though the newspaper had been innovatively dynamic in format, to

have suggested the inclusion of cartoons in the Globe, would have evoked "a dangerous condition of aghastitiude," according to future labour politician and associate editor of Grip, Phillips Thompson.(26) Some of the Browns' reluctance can be attributed to the technological restrictions that made cartoon reproduction difficult due to the limited number of individual pressings possible and time necessary to prepare the illustration for the press.(27) Indeed, it would not be until 1888, fifteen years after the founding of Grip, that Hugh Graham's Montreal Star would take advantage of zinc engraving technology to introduce the cartoons of Henri Julien to the newspaper reading public.(28) Bengough himself later confessed that "such an idea (newspaper cartooning) certainly never entered my head in those days."(29) Nevertheless, experiences as a city reporter were to suggest creative possibilities that a year previously would have been considered no more than pipe dreams.

For a short while during this period, Bengough's awareness of his still painful shortcomings in drawing technique posed a self-felt limitation to a career as a cartoonist. In an attempt to remedy this he enrolled in the Society of Artists School shortly after his arrival in Toronto to develop a formal grounding in art. The novelty of instruction soon wore thin with the weekly "plodding through the copying of placid countenances of plaster casts of Greek dieties." After one term Bengough withdrew, seeing little value in a traditional art education, and

unlike his artistic mentor, Thomas Nast, Bengough never completed any professional schooling.(30) In retrospect his unpolished and colloquial cartoon style would prove to lend his drawings a rough and attractive charm, characterizing his work as uniquely 'Bengough'.

While working as a reporter on the Globe, J.W. Bengough became aquainted with the city staff of most of the Toronto newspapers, including fellow workers of the Conservative organ, the Leader. It was the custom of that paper's publisher, James Beaty, to sit in an armchair outside his office at the corner of King Street and Leader Lane. The picturesque nature of this practice was "irresistable" to Bengough's impulse to caricature and it was the face and figure of Beaty that inadvertently introduced him to the possibilities of lithographic reproduction. The manager of the newspaper, a nephew of Beaty, saw Bengough's cartoon and ran it across the street to Ralph Brothers Printing. Bengough soon held in his hands a copy of his work as reproduced from a lithographic stone.(31) Amazed with the "facility and accuracy with which this was done," Bengough enterprisingly began in short order a series of lithographed political cartoons which were sold directly on the streets. Of this particular series, the precursor to the Grip cartoons, only one, portraying Liberal politican Edward Blake upon a stump with George Brown as a cherub looking down from above, is extant.(32)

After witnessing the ease of mechanical reproduction,

Bengough became preoccupied with the thought of creating a weekly comic paper which would be illustrated with his own cartoons and designed much along the lines of earlier Canadian attempts at comic journals such as Punch in Canada and Diogenes. Out of this "happy thought" came Grip which first appeared on 24 May 1873.(33) Bengough's life-long enthusiasm for Dickens encouraged him to borrow Barnaby Rudge's raven, Grip, to serve as both title and editorial mascot for his journal.(34) Similar to Mr. Punch of Punch in Canada, the raven, Grip, with human body, raven head and usually with quill in beak, served as the voice of the editor when inserted directly within a cartoon. In modern cartoons, Sid Barron's cat and Andy Donato's bird are used in a similar but more limited manner, as the raven, Grip, was also a visual representation, or mascot, if you will, of Bengough's journal.

A politically oriented satiric weekly, Grip claimed to be "ostensibly independent in politics." A September 1873 editorial page statement is worth quoting at length:

> Grip is politically independent and unfettered, and intends so to remain. He will never be neutral when his voice may serve the right. But to be independent it is not required or understood that a tortuous path is to be followed with the object of deferring to each party alternatively. He will never give greater to what he cannot honestly approve. His cartoons he will strive to be essentially true, whatever else may be lacking. Grip hopes to be always brave and just, without forgetting the beautiful law of charity. Then he will be read and respected - bought and paid for.(35)

Bengough's efforts to live up to this creed of independence in

his written pieces and art work were inevitably tempered by what he called his personal instincts in favour of democratic liberal principles. This invariably led to weekly cartoon attacks upon the federal Conservatives. Dutifully, Bengough confessed independence but shied away from claiming objectivity. In his own words, Bengough was "not blind to the shortcomings of the Liberal party" and took a special pleasure in lampooning them "if they provided the opportunity," nevertheless, he believed the Liberals did not give him as many "openings" as the Conservatives. In a philosophical moment, he attributed this to the fact that, at least federally, the Tories were usually in office and were "the people who were 'doing things' open to criticism."(36) In Ontario, where the Liberals ruled during all of Bengough's Grip tenure, his philosophical candor was somewhat compromised when he described Oliver Mowat and his colleagues as "too perpendicular" to be of much use to a cartoonist.(37) The features of Mowat and the actions of his government would often prove too tempting to avoid at least a gentle treatment from Bengough's brush.

While Bengough wrote most of the editorials, and published humourous letters, articles and poems of his own authorship, and those of his small select staff of contributors, Grip was defined by its political cartoons both in terms of the journal's popularity and circulation. Politics in the late nineteenth century was rich in cartoon fodder and politicians "not only

furnished matter for cartoons, but what was still more agreeable to the artist, had faces that lent themselves readily to portrayal."(38) During the seventies and eighties, when newspaper and magazine photographs were unknown, J.W. Bengough's brush made many public figures familiar to his Ontario audience and in many cases his caricatures became the definitive likenesses of such individuals, giving a weight to his cartoons that cannot be overly stressed, or indeed matched by today's editorial cartoonists There is no doubt that among the prominent whose faces served as their signatures within a Bengough cartoon, Sir John A. Macdonald's countenance with its "expressive hair and actorish nose" was the most renown.(39) The cartoonist Gillan, famous for his work in New York's Judge magazine, once related to Bengough with a "covetous look and tone" that American cartoonists would "give anything to have a figure like Sir John in the national politics of the States."(40) The brilliance of Bengough's Macdonald was a product of the partisan passion of his Liberal Reform ideology with which Bengough opposed the policies and practices of the Conservative government. Contemporary commentator, Hector Charlesworth, believed that Bengough shared the 'Brown' reform view that Sir John A. Macdonald was the "root of all evil" and that the Tories were "incorrigibly perverse and wicked."(41) In one of the ironic twists and turns that life makes, Bengough had the opportunity in the late 1880s to meet the man who he believed had "sold out Canada."(42) During a visit to

the Federal House of Parliament, a Tory member, J. Burr Plumb, offered Bengough the chance to talk to Macdonald in a side chamber. Sir John A. surprised Bengough:

> [Plumb] went in and made the application, and the genial chieftain came out at once, and we had a brief but friendly interview. I was indeed much affected at the air of humility and even bashfulness which the great leader displayed, though he assured me that they all enjoyed the hits I made at them.(42)

Bengough was surprised, but Macdonald's affability did nothing to dull the pen that criticized the prime minister's policies in succeeding years.

It was not only the lines brushed upon the lithographic stone reproducing Macdonald's features which secured Grip a solid lease on journalistic life, it was also Macdonald's own unbelievable machinations during the Pacific Scandal that allowed Bengough to make a scathing, intellectual and artistic attack upon the 'Pacific Scandal'. As evidenced by a contemporay editorial from the Hamilton Spectator, the first, pre-Scandal issues of Grip early in 1873 had not been well received:

> Grip has not a very good grip on life. Local news is dull today - almost as dull as Grip. When Grip dies, which will be soon, Toronto will be much more cheerful. Grip is a good paper to be read when going to a funeral; it fills one with solemnity....Grip is what Punch would be with all the spirit left out....(44)

The exposure of the Pacific Scandal soon after Grip's birth "gave Bengough a chance to jump into the arena as the Canadian Nast and

place Grip on firm foundations."(45) It also inspired the eighteen cartoons that stand as Bengough's finest and most definitive body of work on any one theme.(46)

During the almost twenty years of Grip's popularity Bengough regularly received marked copies of newspapers containing complimentary references to his journal and cartoons. While these were usually newspapers with Liberal affiliations it was not surprising to find Conservative party organs among their number. Not infrequently, Grip would be "honoured" by editorial reference in the Globe and other leading dailies.(47) For many years, Grip was known as "the political history of Canada"(48), perhaps due to an 1875 bound volume of the early Grip cartoons, which was followed by the now classic Caricature History of Canadian Politics in 1886, a two volume collection by Bengough, and a definitive work on early Canadian cartooning. As an indication of Grip's stature as a political barometer, large numbers of the weekly Grip were sent to Ottawa upon printing and "all [were] feverishly bought up, and further bundles were called for."(49) Allusions were also made to the journal during parliamentary debate in the House of Commons, although such allusions were not always generous in nature. When protesting a cartoon that condemned the Gerrymander Act, Sir Leonard Tilley expressed the view that the last letter of Grip should be a "t" not a "p"; and, under editorial attack, Edward Blake was once heard to call for Bengough's paper to be stopped.(50)

'Stop the paper' was a demand rarely heard from subscribers. In "Recollections of a Cartoonist"(1909), J.W. Bengough claimed never to have heard any serious protest by a reader because of Grip's editorial position, though it is reasonable to believe that at times Bengough was selectively deaf. As Grip took pains not to descend into the type of "vulgarity" practiced by some contemporary publications, that is, the peoples' press, it found itself in succeeding years gaining "entrance into most homes in Ontario irrespective of their political leanings."(51) Bengough accepted his success as:

> ...a testimony that the people like a positive line of policy on the part of an editor or Cartoonist(sic), whether they sympathize with his doctrine or not; and I take the opportunity of commending this consideration to the present day conductors of leading journals who are manifestly afraid to speak out plainly on certain questions for fear that ruin should suddenly descend upon their counting house.(52)

Starting a publication apparently did not require much capital. While $102,000 was gathered through shareholders to make the Toronto Mail a competitive rival to the Globe, John Ross Robertson purchased the assets of the defunct Liberal for $6,000 and with only $1,000 down began publishing the Evening Telegram.(53) With Grip, after the publication of its first issue, the journal's "counting house" showed a deficit of $17.18 which which J.W. and his brother Thomas, then a printer at the Globe, absorbed equally.(54) The journal went on to enjoy almost two decades of uninterrupted regular weekly issue with Bengough

serving as editor for virtually the entire period, until just prior to the rapid decline experienced by the journal in 1892. This twenty year run in a volatile press market(55), where journals and papers appeared and disappeared with frequent regularity, gave Grip the status of a veteran commentator upon public affairs.

During the first year of the eight page journal's existence, A.S. Irving, a local bookseller, served as business manager until J.W. and Thomas Bengough were ready to leave their permanent employment at the Globe.(56) Probably due to Bengough's staff position at Toronto's leading newspaper, a number of aliases, Chas. P. Hall, Jimuel Briggs and Barnaby Rudge, were used in the first few issues to cautiously obscure his identity. After Grip became fully established by the end of 1873, Bengough abandoned this practice and his position at the Globe. A business office was established at No. 2 Toronto Street and shortly thereafter Bengough Brothers was formed, comprising the entire five brother Bengough complement.(57) Bengough had the strength of family ties behind his venture, and perhaps their monetary investments as well.

While John Wilson Bengough's "weekly stint involved an enormous output of nervous energy," it is a misconception that Grip was a one-man creative operation.(58) While Bengough was the guiding force behind the journal, quick success expanded his public and private commitments and to compensate Grip paid

encouragingly well for quality contributions.(59) During the 1880s the Grip offices were located in a basement of a building on Front Street, just west of the Adelaide post office. The contributors who descended the stone steps with more or less weekly regularity "formed an interesting and varied assortment of humanity."(60) The flavour of Grip owed much to the eccentric nature and talents of its family of contributors.

Aside from Bengough's cartoons, a large part of Grip's renown and popularity was based upon its inclusion of witty, satiric poetry. Bengough contributed many of his own works to the journal which were, for the most part, outgrowths of reflections made while working on Grip and while travelling on lecture tours.(61) Along with their wit, his works were admired for their choice of topic, their clear forceful diction, correct versification and their often strong, patriotic and "thoroughly Canadian spirit."(62) Bengough was a great practioner of the poetic sub-genre of memorial verse(63) and his well-received Motley: Verses Grave and Gay(1895) pays testimony to his humour, wit and sense of pathos. However, notwithstanding Bengough's enviable reputation as a poet, the great proportion of Grip's prose and verse was the work of R.W. Phipps. For many years Phipps' manuscripts were deposited with weekly regularity upon Bengough's desk. Habitually, Phipps sported the dress of a "countryman come to town for the first time," an affectation which belied the phenomenal ego that lay beneath the surface.

Phipps never hesitated to expound in the "most candid fashion" that his work was far superior to that which appeared in Punch, the leading international humour magazine of the period. His incredible ego was best defined by his outrageous claim to be the author of the National Policy. So virulent was Phipps' mock rage over not being appointed Finance Minister upon Sir John A. Macdonald's return to office in 1878, that he promptly became the Grip's fiercest advocate of free trade with the United States.(64)

In direct contrast to Phipps' larger than life presence was the gloomy figure of Tom Boylan. Boylan would enter the Grip offices:

> ....with black brows knitted over furtive eyes, and mouth severly drawn down, and instead of "Here's a little thing for next issue - can you give me something for it?" - one expected him to say, "Here's the knife I did it with; send for the police."(65)

In Bengough's opinion, Boylan was the greatest humourist who ever wrote for Grip. Even Boylan's habit of occasionally punctuating his gloom with the cheerfulness that came out a bottle did not diminish Bengough's ardour for Boylan's work.

Sharing the editorial duties with Bengough was Edward Edwards, a tall, slight man with a colourless face and dark-bearded, Don Quixote features. Like the "clergyman who had thrown aside his clercial garb as a protest against incurably wrong conditions," Edwards wrote with a humourless pen, producing

bitterly critical editorials upon local and topical issues.(66) With his portfolio as his inseparable companion, and his melancholy, high-pitched voice and "frequent disdainful sniff," Edwards often degenerated into self-parody; but his incisive editorial mind gave a sharp-edged seriousness to Grip's reform-minded editorials, and an effective contrast to the journal's generally light-hearted approach.

Also providing editorials was W.A. Foster, a successful Toronto barrister and leading member of the Canada First Movement. An author of stinging rebukes on political issues, Foster was merciless. Unlike Bengough, Foster had no great regard for Oliver Mowat's Liberals. Where Bengough's cartoon rebukes of Mowat's actions, especially the government's close relationship with the Catholic church, were humourous rather than harsh, Foster's attacks upon Mowat were constant, unhesitating and legendary.(67) Foster managed to broaden the spectrum of Grip's political criticism and lent some credence to the journal's claim to editorial independence.

Reporters from local newspapers would occasionally submit pieces to Grip to augment their low wages, and the rare talented young journalist would use the valuable experience to hone his or her craft. One such writer, Peter McArthur, cut his "eyeteeth" on Grip while still a young student at the University of Toronto. McArthur later moved to New York where he established a reputuation for writing interesting articles on issues of public

concern. Later in life, McArthur returned to Ontario where he wrote the biography of Wilfrid Laurier for which he received some contemporary fame.(68)

It was not uncommon to find women contributing articles to journals in this period on various topics of household interest and matters of morality and etiquette. Grip was unique in that its women contributors abrogated this stereotype and provided articles that were both humourous and reform-minded. The almost weekly 'letters' of Hugh Airlie and his adventures came from the pen of Mrs. J.K. Lawson who, "of generous proportions and genial force," combined the sentiments of a deep moral reformer with the spirit of a born humourist.(69) A very strong advocate of temperance, Mrs. Lawson shared with Bengough a deep-set abhorrence of the abuses of drink. Another regular, Mrs. Curzon, an early pioneer of woman's suffrage and later editor of the Citizen, was a prominent journalist who wrote on political issues in Grip and helped to broaden the reform spectrum of the journal.(70)

There were more than half a dozen occasional contributors who submitted works to Grip, perhaps the most famous of whom was the eclectic Rev. C.P. Mulvany, "a genius who could write anything" from theology to poetry.(71) Mulvany's Toronto Past and Present(1884) is still a definitive reference for material on late nineteenth century Toronto.

For over fifteen years the creatively-charged Grip was

managed smoothly with only minor structural and editorial changes. Thomas Bengough had left the position of general business manager to pursue a career that took him from private secretary to Oliver Mowat to official scribe of the Canadian Senate. After the eldest Bengough brother, George, retired, the printing firm was reorganized into Bengough, Moore and Bengough; S.J. Moore, a previous business partner of Thomas Bengough, had replaced the younger brother as manager.(72) By the end of the 1880s, Grip was a sixteen page journal produced with an unusually refined engraving process on a high quality coated stock.(73) The small firm had grown into a large printing concern, reorganized under a series of company presidents, finally becoming Grip Printing & Publishing under T.G. Wilson.

The growth of the Grip concern was not without internal stress and conflict. The possiblities and responsibilities of large profits, and the tensions between the creative and the business management factions of the company eventually pulled Grip apart. There were foreboding hints with the beginning of Volume 38 in 1892, as for the first time in its history the names of Grip's editor, Bengough, and its officers were dropped from their traditional posting on page two. As if in unstated defence the lead editorial stated:

> We keep our youth and vigor unabated. Judge for yourself, gentle reader - is not this first number as spry and chipper and jokey(sic) and full of sound sense as Vol.1, No.1? We are fitter in every way - more pages, articles better written and better illustrated, and they will have much more influence. We feel a

> little proud of our record. Our pages have never been sullied.(74)

In March the listing of editor and manager reappear but by August, the names of John Wilson Bengough and associate editor, Phillips Thompson, are dropped again, leaving only the name of T.G. Wilson, manager. Bengough's "Comments on the Cartoons," the small column wherein he humourously expanded upon his cartoon topics, disappeared also, after an uninterrupted run of nineteen years. After the 6 August 1892 issue, Bengough's cartoons stopped appearing and his name was cut out of Grip's decorative masthead. Bengough's creative relationship with the journal he had created was severed unceremoniously.

The events leading to Bengough's estrangement are obscured by the reluctance of Bengough to make a record of what must of been an emotional and painful experience. Nevertheless, it is possible to piece together the chain of events that culminated in the break between Bengough and the business interests that had come to control Grip Printing and Publishing. Some eight years prior to the ousting of Bengough, the Grip Company, as a firm with a good 'liberal' record, had tendered a bid on a five year contract from the Ontario government to do all of its official printing. The previous government contractor had reportedly cleared $80,000 dollars from the government work and his subsequent patronage appointment to a bank directorship seemed to confirm the lucrative nature of the contract. To secure the

award of this contract, Grip Printing & Publishing had to pay off a lower tender to the sum of $5,000, which at the time was seen to be a shrewd investment to guarantee a large profit. In planning for the work it became necessary to increase materially the size of the equipment, staff and premises, resulting in a move to larger offices on Front Street and the accumulation of a large debt. During these years of dramatic reorganization, in a "mysterious result that was never explained," the lucrative government contract resulted in a loss for the company. It was at this time that J.W. Bengough 'retired', possibly after a period of particularly tiring warfare with the Board of Directors. The Board was dominated by T.G. Wilson and a Mr. Murray who self-styled themselves as "honey-bees" for their role in gaining the government contract and in producing honied profits. Although not directly attributed to the machinations of these two individuals, Thomas Bengough in later years suggested that "general mismanagement" by the Board of Directors led eventually to the break with Bengough and the eventual demise of Grip.(75)

Shortly after Bengough left the journal, Wilson again moved the printing offices, this time to Yonge Street, and a September 1892 issue of Grip boasted that with the services of a large number of the best writers and artists in North America, "great strides would be made"; there would be a "greater variety in both pictures and letter press."(76) The contributions by new artists

and authors proved to be reprint material from American magazines and overnight Grip joined the dozens of similar undistinguished periodicals that glutted the newsagent's shelf. Grip continued to publish until July of 1893 when it underwent, as was stated in a distributed circular, "a temporary suspension."

Grip was dying. After Bengough's departure, Grip was "absolutely devoid of humor, sarcasm, criticism worth anything, with cartoons lacking point and reading matter having no punch or snap."(77) With the aid of advertisements the paper had continued to publish until its 'temporary' suspension, but the subscription list was decreasing by the dozens, then by the hundreds and finally by the thousands as subscribers foresook Grip. Without the personal and intimate humour, sarcasm, and political criticism of J.W. Bengough, Grip had become a self-serving caricature of itself seeking to capitalize upon past successes. Wilson's temporary suspension of September 1893 turned into a full scale collapse.(78) The art department and large sections of the printing machinery were sold to meet debts and Grip Printing and Publishing was forced out of business. For Bengough, this resulted in a total loss of his and his brothers' investments in the firm.(79)

In 1894, J.W. Bengough made an abortive attempt to resuscitate Grip. Under the name Phoenix Publishing, Bengough allied himself with a former Belleville newspaper publisher by the name of Bell, to revive Grip from offices located on Adelaide

Street, near where he had founded the journal in 1873. The nostalgic revival, with the same masthead and journal dimensions, ran from 4 January 1894 to 29 December 1894. Perhaps due to "lack of energetic management" from the publisher, but more likely to little demand for the "old-style" Grip in the face of contemporary competition, the journal folded quietly that Christmas.(80)

Grip can be said to have died with Sir John A. Macdonald in 1891. Though Bengough's estrangement from his own journal coincided with a marked decline in fortune in the journal's circulation, Grip's days were already numbered by the high quality of its increasingly slick and more expensively produced American and British competition, led by Puck, Judge, Life and Punch. (81) Macdonald had been the catalyst for Grip's initial success and Bengough's twenty-year antagonism with the prime minister had resulted in the wittiest and most brilliant of all Bengough's cartoon productions. Bengough is assured artistic immortality in the realm of the Canadian editorial cartoon on this basis alone. After Macdonald's death, the gradual evolution of Bengough the cartoonist from editorial cartoon pundit to propagandist became starkly apparent during the Laurier years when his commissioned cartoons for the Globe betrayed a stiltedness and lack of incisive wit. Though his draftsmanship matured during his post-Grip years and with the 'right' issue

Bengough can be viewed at his most inspired, the acid life of the brush of Bengough had become diluted.

By the 1890s Bengough's popularity as Canada's premier editorial cartoonist was losing ground to new talent, such as the Toronto Star's Sam Hunter and the Montreal Star's Henri Julien. The 'engraving' style of Bengough's works, derivative of its mid-century woodcut heritage, and the tendency to detail to the point of sometimes unworkable composition, was being surplanted by a new crisper line work. In the same way the heavy moralizing in Bengough's works, sometimes at the cost of humour, was in dated contrast to the more contemporary less critical touch of artists as Julien. Henri Julien, with his cartoons for the Montreal Star, was to set the artistic pattern for the first decade of the twentieth century -- in much the same way as Bengough did for the late nineteenth century.

As more than mere postscript, it is important not to equate the death of Grip with the end of John Wilson Bengough's influence or career as a public pundit. The loss of Grip did little to end the ability of Bengough to achieve a popular forum for his ideas. With Grip existing as virtually the only concrete example of Bengough's ability, there has been a tendency to view his achievements solely in terms of the obvious historical record left to us. While it in no way belittles the brilliance of his Grip career, Bengough had begun in May of 1874 at the old Toronto

Music Hall the first of a series of lectures which would become famous as his "chalk talks." To Bengough this public career came "legitimately" within his 'recollections as a cartoonist'(82) though unlike the Grip cartoons, the lectures left little in the way of historical legacy.

Bengough's chalk talk lectures were a "genial phase" of his career that spanned five decades and took him across the North American continent, to the British Isles and as far afield as New Zealand and Australia. Bengough's lecture tour visited small town and large city alike, caricaturizing local prominent citizens to great audience amusement. With a formidable command of the chalk crayon, he would illustrate amusing anecdotes while drawing in an entertaining and theatrical manner. His usual technique would be to begin with a series of general and misleading lines that when capped with the "finishing touch of a big nose, long ears or some other characteristic" would at once identified his cartoon 'victim'.(83) Seldom did his victims take offence and at the end of the entertainment his cartoon portraits were often sold and "handed down in the family as heirlooms."(84) Bengough recounted in 1909:

> ...in my present day visits I am almost invariably reminded, with great relish, of how I pictured so-and-so twenty or thirty years ago. Occasionally, I find the actual pictures, yellow with age, carefully preserved on the walls of private offices.(85)

More than a showcase of Bengough's cartoon talents, the lectures were enlivened with readings, recitations and songs:

> [Bengough] could imitate the voice of a child in Witcomb Riley's "Little Orphan Annie," and the feeble old man in "Gettin' On, I Guess"; but the piece de resistance was his own production, "Winnipeg Station," in which he imitated the speeches of new Canadians, each in his own characteristic style and national brogue, giving their impressions of Canada. In his fine tenor voice he would sing, "Then You'll Remember Me," with all the genuflexions and intonations of Signor Peanutti, of the Italian Opera Company. He thus individually played so many parts that his entertainments equalled in variety the performance of a whole company of artists.(86)

While Grip never faltered during Bengough's extensive chalk talk tours and never was a cartoon or copy missed through accident or illness,(87) it is possible to see a transference of priority of effort occur that preceded the demise of Grip. Naturally as the demands of touring increased, contributions from other hands increased to fill the copy void. It is interesting to speculate the extent to which the energy necessarily devoted to his often extensive tours detracted from the attention necessary to ensure the proper business management of Grip in the early nineties. Even Grip's short-term revival in 1894 lacked the magic, imagination and attention to detail that had characterized the journal in its best years. Finally, there is too strong a parallel between the nature of Bengough's chalk talks and Charles Dickens' famous reading tours of the 1860s for Bengough not to have been conscious of the similarities. It would not be farfetched to imagine Bengough encouraging such similarities where and when they presented themselves.

While Bengough's public career expanded in scope, responsibily and interest, his career as a cartoonist continued beyond Grip, albeit in a slightly different medium, that of the daily press. Bengough's contributions were solicited by the Montreal Star, the Toronto Globe, and many other papers and journals, such as the Canadian Courier and Chicago Public. His work for the Globe durang the federal election of 1896 was Liberal propaganda and not among his finest productions, but the cartoons were nevertheless described in uncritical Victorian terms as "an attractive feature in that paper."(88) In touring Great Britain at the turn of the century, Bengough had the pleasure of seeing his work appear in the London Daily Express, the Morning Chronicle and the St. James Gazette, and he won acclaim for his graphic treatment of the Chamberlain election of 1903.(89) His British tours also saw him writing dozens of letters and articles back to Toronto newspapers on English and French affairs, and in reciprocity lecturing in Great Britain on "Facts and Fancies About Canada." When his lectures carried him south of the equator to Australia, his cartoons were to be found among the pages of the Sydney Herald. The status of Bengough as a cartoonist was truly international.

Bengough's increasing attention to literary humour and satire was demonstrated by his 'Caleb Jinkins' Letters'. A long running series of columns, these letters with accompanying illustrations were first published in the Farmer's Advocate beginning in 1902.

As humourous common sense observations on contemporary issues, with a uniquely 'rural' viewpoint, the columns were written in phonetic colloquialism, addressed to various "edditers" and with the salutation "deer sir." Never falling to the level of ridiculing the rural point of view, which so easily could have been the case, Jinkins "wrote" with a perceptive wise eye to the political and social foibles of his society.(90) Between 1902 and 1921, in addition to the Farmer's Advocate (Farmers Advocat), the Jinkins' Letters were published with fair regularity during different periods in the Canadian American (canaden ameriken), Saturday Night (Saterdy Nite), the Herald (Herild), the Globe and the Pioneer (Pineer).(91) The Pioneer was the organ of the Prohibitory Alliance for the Suppression of the Liquor Traffic. Prohibition and temperance were quests close to Bengough's heart and he provided his Caleb Jinkins' Letters for the magazine between 1918 and 1921.(92)

Released from the weekly deadlines of Grip, which had been ever-present for twenty years, Bengough satiated a not superficial "liking for novelty" that led him to support many reform movements and charities, using his fame to promote and publicize causes he felt to be just. (93) Along with the promotion of temperance, the single-tax movement and women's suffrage, the Salvation Army, in particular, found Bengough to be a "great friend," whose "pictures and poems", in the words of Rev. D. Withrow, "have expressed his sympathy with the

'Hallelujah Lassies' and the work of the War Cry brigade."(94)

By 1912 Bengough was a member of the Public Ownership League, a director of the Toronto Exhibition Association, president of the Peoples' Forum and of the Single Tax Association.(95) He was also long time member and vice-president of the Toronto Dickens' Fellowship for which he wrote in 1902 "probably the best of several dramatizations of the case of Bardeli vs. Pickwick extant." The production given by the Fellowship drew crowded houses for several performances, and in the opinion of journalist, Hector Charlesworth, contained "some quips added to the original, that if Dickens had thought of would probably have been incorporated in Pickwick Papers.(96) Though the details are obscure and the evidence fragmentary, Bengough turned his playwriting talents to the authoring of motion picture screenplays in the early 1920s. A couple of manuscript drafts of scripts still exist, along with a memo to a firm with the generic name of the Motion Picture Company.(97)

For the most part during his late career Bengough stayed clear from assuming the unaccustomed role of politician. In 1896 he was offered but declined the federal North Bruce nomination.(98) In 1906, however, it seemed that Bengough was tempted by the immediacy of municipal politics when he ran for the position of Ward 3 alderman. [redacted]ted that year, he was successfully elected the following year wi[redacted] the support of the major Toronto newspapers, the Star and the Globe. Bengough

sought concrete reform to address what he considered to be pressing inadequacies in current municipal legislation. He drafted and presented to the council legislation to reduce assessment taxes on the dwellings of Toronto's poor, to limit the number of taverns that could operate in the city, and to require landlords to keep their properties in a "reasonable state of repair." All these attempts to instigate reform were swallowed whole and disappeared without a trace within the bowels of municipal bureaucracy. Upon re-election in 1908 Bengough achieved a limited victory by lobbying heavily for a compromise by-law that would prevent "new" licences from being issued for taverns in Toronto amusement parks. This 'achievement' aside, the time and effort invested seemed very great compared to the truly superficial reform that he was able to effect.(99) Shortly after his second re-election in 1909, Bengough took a leave of absence in March to honour a commitment to tour Australia and New Zealand.(100) He returned to Toronto later that same year but not to his aldermanic seat. Frustrated by catering to personalities and bureaucracy, Bengough left politics to those best at politicking.

During the last years of his life Bengough added a book of recollections called Chalk Talks (1922) to his already respectable list of 'enduring' publications that included two collections of his cartoon works, three assemblies of his poetry and selected readings and a political primer, obstensibly for

children, written in words of one syllable.(101) By this point in his career, Bengough was somewhat out of step with the current of his times with his strong Victorian disapproval for such vices as tobacco and alcohol. He possessed "a strong antipathy to many things which [seemed] congenial and acceptable to the average man" of the third decade of twentieth century Canada.(102) Yet Bengough was well known and respected by most Canadians and not regarded in any sense as being merely "quaint." In the ever-present words of Charlesworth: "the cheerful and kindly qualities of his temperament softened the angularity of some of his views."(103)

In 1923, in addition to a commitment to an already sizeable lecture tour, Bengough added a series of some sixty lectures to be given free to the school children of Ontario. For a man of thirty the schedule was strenuous, for a man of seventy-two it no doubt contributed to the shortening of his life.(104) His death was sudden on the 23rd of October of that year. Earlier Bengough had been diagnosed as a sufferer of agina pectoris, a painful tension related affliction of the heart, but characteristically, he did not allow it to influence the pace of his life. It was entirely fitting that John Wilson Bengough passed away quietly while at his drawing board, in the midst of pencilling a series of cartoons planned to illustrate to children the abuses of smoking.(105)

His life and career had been long and full, with is share of

failure, but with an inordinate number of successes. The Grand Old Man of Canadian editorial cartooning was survived by his second wife, Annie,(106) but he left no family...aside from the family of hundreds of cartoons still with us today. A memorial service was held in the lecture room of the Presbyterian Church of North Rosedale, attended by many friends and acquaintances. Seven speakers took the platform, one, E.S. Smythe described Bengough simply as having "a genius for friendship."(107) The Christian Guardian would later expand upon this theme, describing Bengough as:

> ...a genial companion, a brilliant conversationalist, a peerless cartoonist, and, as an author, his works lie close to the purest and simplest passions of the human heart.(108)

If the outline of the life of J.W. Bengough reads like a Horatio Alger novel to an inordinate extent, then this is somewhat due to the nature of a human being to preserve his or her records of success and to leave to posterity a scant record of failure. Of the personal side of Bengough's life, that which would be found in personal correspondence, journals or diaries, there is a paucity of sources. Bengough's early reminicences are surrounded by a rose-coloured haze: for the most part self-related or the recollections of his younger brother. The facts of Bengough's life were recorded with an eye for entertainment value and annecdotal potential. Still, it is

important not to mistake the charming for the appocryphal or the blatantly hagiographic. That Bengough seemed to experience much of the best that the world of nineteenth century Canada offered was not the exaggerated reflections of a golden youth and rich maturity, but rather the result of a little well-timed good fortune, cultured talent and industrious discipline. He was a cartoonist in an era when technology prevented any newspaper competition until Henri Julien of the Montreal Star in 1888, and his caricatures stood as the unrebutted definitive likenesses of the period's politicians. With the strokes of his brush and pen, Bengough not only defined the visages of politicians, but also their personalities and policies. The twenty year run of Grip gave Bengough the status of a veteran social and political commentator, and his lecture tours made his role as a pundit of acclaim, truly international.

CHAPTER I ENDNOTES

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Morgan, 1912,p.90.

(3) Ibid.

(4) J.M.S. Careless Brown of the Globe, Vol.I (Toronto: MacMillan,1963),p.24.

(5) Ibid.,pp.24,25,28.

(6) David Gagan Hopeful Travellers: Families, Land and Social Change in Mid-Victorian Peel County, Canada West (Toronto: University of Toronto Press,1981),p.96.

(7) Thomas Bengough "Life and Work of J.W. Bengough, Canada's Cartoonist" (McMaster University Archives: John Wilson Bengough Papers, Box3 File4, Bell Club Address 20 January 1937),p.1.

John Wilson Bengough "Recollections of a Cartoonist," The Westminster, February 1909,p.77. Article continued in March and April editions.

(8) T. Bengough,p.2.

(9) T. Bengough,p.2.
J.W. Bengough, Feb.1909,p.73.

(10) T. Bengough,p.1.
J.W. Bengough, Feb.1909,p.73.

(11) T. Bengough,p.3.

(12) T. Bengough,p.2.
J.W. Bengough, Feb.1909,p.73.

(13) T. Bengough,pp.3-4.

(14) Ibid.,p.4.

(15) Ibid.

(16) T. Bengough,p.5.
J.W. Bengough, Feb.1909,p.74.

(17) J.W. Bengough, Feb.1909,p.74.

(18) John A. Kouwenhoven, "Thomas Nast As We Don't Know Him," Colophon No.2,(New Graphic Series), 1939.

(19) Walter Gutman, "An American Phenomena," Creative Art V, 1929, p.670.

(20) Dennis Blake, "Thomas Nast -- The Rise and Development of an Editorial Cartoonist," unpublished manuscript, Wilfrid Laurier University, 1984, pp.1,2,44.

(21) J.W. Bengough, Feb.1909,p.74.

(22) T. Bengough,p.6.

(23) J.W. Bengough, Feb.1909,p.76.

(24) Unidentified Boston newspaper clipping, Bengough Papers, Box14.

(25) Hector Charlesworth "J.W. Bengough; Pioneer Cartoonist," Saturday Night, 13 October 1923.

(26) J.W. Bengough, Feb.1909,p.77.

(27) Ibid.
T. Bengough,pp.7-8.

(28) Charlesworth, Saturday Night.
Terry Mosher and Peter Desbarats The Hecklers (Toronto: McLelland and Stewart, 1979),p.66.

(29) J.W. Bengough, Feb.1909,p.77.

(30) Ibid.

(31) Ibid.,p.79.
T. Bengough,pp.8-9.

(32) J.W. Bengough, Feb.1909,p.79.
T. Bengough,p.11.

(33) J.W. Bengough, Feb.1909,p.79.

(34) Charlesworth, Saturday Night.

(35) J.W. Bengough, Apr.1909,p.250.
T. Bengough,p.11.

(36) J.W. Bengough, Apr.1909,p.250.

(37) Ibid.,p.257.

(38) Ibid.

(39) Charlesworth, Saturday Night.

(40) J.W. Bengough, Apr.1909,p.251.

(41) Charlesworth, Staurday Night.

(42) Globe, 4 October 1923. Obituary.

(43) J.W. Bengough, Apr.1909,p.252.

(44) Spectator, 5 June 1873.

(45) Charlesworth, Saturday Night.

(46) See Appendix I for complete referencing of the Grip Pacific Scandal Cartoons, and Chapter III for their context.

(47) J.W. Bengough, Apr.1909,p.252.

(48) Rev. D. Withrow, "An Artist of Righteousness: J.W. Bengough,

Canadian Caricaturist and Humorous Poet," Canadian Methodist Magazine, p.205.

(49) T. Bengough,p.10.

(50) Ibid.
J.W. Bengough, Apr.1909,p.250.

(51) Charlesworth, Saturday Night.

(52) J.W. Bengough, Apr.1909,p.253.

(53) Paul Rutherford Victorian Authority: The Daily Press in Nineteenth Century Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press,1982), p.88.

(54) T. Bengough,p.11.

(55) J.W. Bengough, Mar.1909,p.183.

(56) T. Bengough,p.11.

(57) Ibid.,p.12.

(58) Charlesworth in his Saturday Night article repeats the myth that Grip was soley the work of Bengough's hands.

(59) T. Bengough,p.11.

(60) J.W. Bengough, Apr.1909,p.249.

(61) Thomas Harrismond, "Canadian Poets and Their Poetry," Columbian Magazine, March 1896, p.347.

(62) T. Bengough,p.14.

(63) Withrow,p.214.

(64) J.W. Bengough, Mar.1909,p.189.

(65) Ibid.

(66) Jbid., Apr.,pp.249-50.

(67) T. Bengough,pp.15-16.

(68) Ibid.,p.14.
J.W. Bengough, Apr.1909,p.250.

(69) J.W. Bengough, Apr.1909,p.250.

(70) Ibid.
T. Bengough,p.18.

(71) T. Bengough, p.17.

(72) Ibid., p.12.

(73) "Memoranda re: file of Grip, with suggestions as to binding," volume by volume precis of Grip's publishing history as assembled by Thomas Bengough in 1939. Bengough Papers, Box3, File4, p.2.

(74) Grip, January to March 1892: no names of officers or editors appear. Names reappear 26 March.

(75) Memoranda, p.5.

(76) Ibid.

(77) Ibid.

(78) Ibid., p.6.

(79) Ibid., p.5.

(80) Ibid., p.6.

(81) Richard Marschall, "Polychromatic Effulgence," Comic Journal No.62, March 1981, p.86-89., also see Nos.57, 58, 60, 62 and 63 for further reviews of Puck, Judge and Life.

(82) J.W. Bengough, Apr.1909, p.252.

(83) Globe, 4 October 1923.

(84) T. Bengough, p.21.

(85) J.W. Bengough, Apr.1909, p.254.

(86) T. Bengough, pp.21-22.

(87) J.W. Bengough, Apr.1909, p.254.

(88) Morgan, 1898, p.74.

(89) Morgan, 1912, p.90.

(90) Clippings of Caleb Jinkins Columns 1885-1921, Bengough Papers, Box3, File6.

(91) Ibid.

(92) Ibid.
Charlesworth, Saturday Night.

(93) Charlesworth, Saturday Night.

(94) Withrow, p.209.

(95) Morgan, 1912, p.90.

(96) Charlesworth, Saturday Night.

(97) Motion Picture Scripts, Bengough Papers, Box

(98) Morgan, 1898, p.74.

(99) Stan Kutcher JJ.W. Bengough and the Millenium in Hogtown," Urban History Review, pp.40-44.

(100) Morgan, 1912, p.90.
T. Bengough, p.24.

(101) Morgan, 1912, p.91.
W. Stewart Wallace The Encyclopedia of Canada (Toronto:

University Associates of Canada, 1935),p.214.

(102) Charlesworth, Saturday Night.

(103) Ibid.

(104) T. Bengough,p.24.

(105) Charlesworth, Saturday Night.

(106) Morgan, 1912,p.90.

(107) Globe, 23 November 1923. "Late J.W. Bengough Subject of Eulogy."

(108) Morgan, 1912,p.91.

CHAPTER II: GRIP AND THE PARTISAN PRESS --

The Persuasion of Ideology, Morality, and Technology

Bengough's comic journal Grip thrived among the plethora of daily and weekly newspapers and the myriad of religious, business, political and entertainment journals of the late nineteenth century. It took its place on the newsagent's stand among a crowded display of local, national and foreign publications offering everything from advice for the love-lorn to the latest developments in modern technology. While one of the goals of Egerton Ryerson's Ontario education reforms was to teach reading for the sake of self-improvement, works of fiction, entertainment and humour had developed a huge readership. Journals were read by young and old, male and female, individuals of every social class. There was a journal for every taste and there is little doubt that Ontario had "the most flourishing press" in Canada.(1) Paul Rutherford in A Victorian Authority: The Daily Press on Late Nineteenth Century Canada (1982) notes that "[p]opular culture had arrived in Canada and with a vengence." Census data and newspaper directories led Rutherford

to conclude that circulations were soaring in a manner that suggested an "insatiable hunger" for reading material.(2) In 1872, the Canadian newspaper press alone had a combined circulation of 670,000 copies, just over one journal per Canadian household. In the same year, the post office handled over twenty-four and one half million newspapers and periodicals.(3) The small silver five cent piece of the Victorian period could purchase the casual reader his or her choice of any journal or newspaper upon the newstand -- but it was to the credit of Grip's refreshingly irreverent outlook and the often unerring wit of Bengough's cartoons that made it the preferred choice of the reader searching for both humour and topical political commentary. Grip as a member of the liberal partisan press provided the reader an exposure to a new voice of editorial comment, the cartoon. For Bengough, the press proved to be morally and ideologically attractive as a career choice. A dream, and technology would combine to make Grip a reality.

It is unfortunate that very little research has been done to establish the relationship between the comic journal and the broader world of nineteenth century Canadian journalism. It is true that in The Hecklers (1979), Peter Desbarats and Terry Mosher trace the evolution of the Canadian comic journal from its first mid-century incarnations through to the appearance of Grip in 1873.(4) Nevertheless, their work, while well crafted, is addressed to a popular audience and neglects any delineation of

the role or stature the comic journal in a larger journalistic or social context. A chapter devoted to J.W. Bengough, provides little beyond a biographical sketch and a superficial history of the late ninteenth century vis a vis Bengough's cartoons.(5) Even W.H. Kesterton's once definitive A History of Journalism in Canada (1967) reserves little space for the journalistic sub-genre of the comic journal. Grip is granted a brief mention under the category of magazine press during a discussion of what Kesterton labels the Third Press Period. Kesterton defines this era as a time when the "roots of the journalism plant sank deeper into eastern soil" and the press underwent western expansion towards the Pacific coast. As one name among many in a chronological listing of major publications, and as a product of Ontario, Grip receives short shift in a chapter subtitled: The Western Transplant and Spreading Growth.(6)

Though little attention has been paid to the comic journal in the academic sense, Paul Rutherford has done extensive survey work in the vast field of nineteenth century journalism. Capitalizing upon the overview gained while writing The Making of the Canadian Media (1978), Rutherford in Victorian Authority organizes a rather encompassing picture of the newspaper industry, emphasizing its growth, development, motivation and "philosophy." To avoid epistemological and methodological ambiguities, Rutherford concentrates upon the daily press and its links to power seeking and money through a research foundation

consisting of publishing profiles, circulation data and revenue studies.(7) A single volume outlining the nature of the daily newspaper, let alone all of journalism, is indeed a daunting task which by necessity dictates rigid selectivity. The weekly newspaper exists beyond the scope of Rutherford's work as does naturally the comic journal.

While it would not be beyond sound methodology to extrapolate Rutherford's conclusions as to role and nature of the daily press to understand the urban weekly newspaper, the comic journal would seem to stand removed from any such adaptation of research and hypotheses. Fortunately John Wilson Bengough's Grip with its combination of humour and informed political commentary within the cartoon medium transcended the comic journal genre. Having philosophically allied itself with the politicized nature of the daily press, Grip can be placed with some assurance into the same context of the partisan press of the period.

After studying the myths and realities of partisanship and patronage in the Ontario press between 1880 and 1914, Professor Brian Beaven notes that: "[m]ost Victorian papers aspired to 'independence'," though "[f]ew really succeeded in attaining the exhalted status to which they all paid lip service, whether they adhered to a party label or not."(8) At the same time that true independence was a myth, so too is the traditional stereotype of the subservient political organ. Even with the most outright political ownership and the direct and frequent editorial

intervention, certain realities of the marketplace often would prove to overcome political dictate.

No newspapers in Canada stood apart from political involvement prior to the First World War. The variable funding of newspapers by politicians was endemic in the late nineteenth century, and where there were no sympathetic papers in key urban area, parties helped fund or in the rare instance created them.(9) In a "subtle evaluation" first framed by Professor Rutherford, there was an institutional mastering of the party over the press that could not be fully transcended by a publisher or editor. This institutional mastery took many forms as the influence of political parties was pervasive both directly and indirectly. Party funds provided direct sponsorship, the granting of advertising or printing contracts, the purchase of subscriptions and the pensioning of journalists through public appointment. While the rare paper was wholly funded by parties or through political advertising patronage, on the opposite end of the partisan spectrum were papers and journals, Grip among them, that provided support through ideological conviction rather than coercion.(10)

There were three categories of the partisan press that possessed identifiable values. Papers that supported conservative ideals represented values that embraced commitment to the community through tradition and self-interest. These papers promoted strategies emphasizing growth and the support of

big business, resisting social change as a threat to the status quo. The second group, the radical press was not truly a party press as there was no party to support it. Not a cohesive group, the radical press had a "confused" credo and appealed to those who found the status quo "oppressive." It called usually for an undefined transformation of society in which the masses were not held in check by a class system. The third division, the liberal press, of which Grip was a member, fought for the liberty of the individual. The liberals seemed to be the "quintessential Victorians," pure in motive and morals. The object was to free one from the prescriptions of privilege through the regeneration of society which, ironically, often called for a sacrifice of personal freedom to that of moral regulation. (11)

By direct funding and rewarding 'loyal' papers with patronage, political parties sought favourable press coverage and to influence editorial policy. Significantly, party papers, even more than defining party policy, advertised for the very party system itself:

> Political parties, and the Reform party in particular, were in part the creation of journalists. At the local level, the genesis of Ontario party politics from as early as the 1820s was accompanied by the establishment of a volatile 'party' press. At the provincial level, William Lyon Mackenzie in the 1830s and George Brown in the 1850s were able to fashion Upper Canadian Reform parties in their own image from a journalistic base. After 1880, journalists such as Liberals James Young, Andrew Pattullo, and George Graham or Conservatives Thomas White, Mackenzie Bowell, and Sam Hughes remained potent power brokers within the party hierarchy. They were as much patrons of the party system as its clients.(12)

With this inherent close relationship between the origins of the press and political ideology, the editor-publishers of the larger metropolitan dailies were more often than not close to party circles:

> Publishers were entrepreneurs, but entrepreneurs in the games of power and prestige as well as profit. .... Publishers were men of stature, cultivated by businessmen, churchmen, and politicians. The aura of power and the sheer glamour of ownership inevitably appealed to many a veteran journalist.(13)

Christopher Bunting of the Mail, 'Billy' McLean of the World and Brown of the Globe, though not elected representatives to government, often possessed great influence as independent power brokers within the party hierarchy.(14) However, the editor/publisher served two masters: the political party and his audience. On a very pragmatic level, it was as apparent to George Brown as it was to J.W. Bengough that it was not the voter that the publishing concern had to satisfy or woo, it was the subscriber. Political commentary could be made without party responsibility if it stood the test of ideological responsibility and most importantly fiscal responsibility.

It becomes apparent that it is simplistic to label any newspaper or journal as an outright 'organ' of a political party on the basis of its political leanings. This would ignore the complex relationship between commercial demand and political goals. As Beaven puts it, such a relationship was "an uneasy

institutional marriage of convenience."(15) Politicians were unable to shape the press as a whole into a tool to be manipulated. Journalists and newspapermen "did dissent and occasionally 'kick over the traces' whether moved by principle, profit, or plain crochetyness."(16) To understand the nature of the partisan press it is necessary to be aware that this was a reciprocal situation as the realities and competition of the marketplace put a check on the extent of the political content of a newspaper. In addition, the ability of a newspaper to promote political ideas could actively shape a political party's fortune.(17) Direct patronage was carefully limited to the major papers in urban centres where the competition between partisan press was its fiercest.(18) As the Hamilton Spectator somewhat idealistically observed in 1882:

> The fact is no journal of standing of either party looks upon its government patronage as being of importance to it. Every such journal has scores of private patrons whose account is vastly greater with it than that of the Government ... If there is any want of independence in the Canadian press it is not because of the money it receives from the Canadian Government.(19)

Patronage, in such terms as the awarding of government printing contracts, was less than five percent of an average paper's annual revenue.(20) For the smaller journals, such as Grip, patronage funding was simply not available even if it had been desired. The majority of papers and journals promoted a party association, hoping for patronage rewards, but the bottom line in

marketplace survival was written not by the politician but by the consumers whose names filled publication subscription lists. Commercial necessity reduced the purity of political domination.

The complexity of relationships between politics and the media is further underscored when it is realized that publications often advanced a partisan cause to ply for subscriptions.(21) Perhaps the finest position in which the editor publisher of a nineteenth century publication could find himself was where patronage support was forthcoming from a party in which he ideologically believed and whose fortunes the general populace (subscribers) also favoured. The press was driven by a strong capitalist desire to succeed in the marketplace. Thus commercially oriented, publications maintained party identity as one of many marketing strategies.(22) This does not diminish the "institutional" nature of political persuasion as a directing and intrinsic part of the very identity of a newspaper but it does radically re-define the traditional concept of 'party organ'.

By the mid to late 1870s, the growing importance of the subscription list - and the awareness of an increasingly literate population became apparent in the rise of "Peoples' Journalism." Prior to this peoples' journalism, newspapers and political journals appealed mainly to a well-educated audience of businessmen and professionals. While the papers presented a balanced fare of international and business news, politics was the staple of their presentation. The tone of these publications

was somber and:

> ... in general they adapted a solemn, sometimes a stodgy, approach to public questions; more condusive to boredom than excitement. From this perspective the party press was the spokesman of the stereotypical Victorian citizen -- sober-minded, learned but dogmatic, and, of course, middle-class.(23)

By the late 1870s a new form of newspaper was beginning to appear. These "peoples' journals" suspected the establishment of attempting to perpetuate a class system and they launched crusades against party corruption and abuses of power. Big business became a target and newspapers challenged the causes of the underdog and outsider and actively engaged in discussions to seek ways to reduce the burdens of the common man.(24) In the never-ending quest to swell subscription lists, the urban press by the early 1880s:

> had become a popular medium of information and opinion, no doubt still catering to the establishment but also striving to satisfy the populace.(25)

The Star and La Presse of Montreal, the Telegram, World, News and Star of Toronto, the Hamilton Herald and Ottawa Journal were the major journals of a peoples' press that held "an extraordinary sense of mission" and saw themselves as public educators, writing in a clear, direct prose, avoiding the convoluted and often psuedo-literary texts of the partisan press.(26)

Challenging the conventions of Victorian Canada, this journalistic evolution of the 1880s placed more emphasis on

'news' over 'comment'. Nevertheless, the freshness of the approach of the peoples' press began to fade and with the establishment of a press that catered to a wider spectrum of class audience, a process of 'down-market' degeneration set in. To attract attention, many newspapers became seekers of the sensational and practised the journalistic techniques of the human interest story, the scoop, the graphically covered disaster and scandal and the promotion of endless crusades.(27) Although these journals emphasized the sensational and deliberately went 'down-market' to attract the working class reader, the extent to which news and commentary was reported or distorted was internally censured by the industry belief that 'moral' journalism was favoured by the readers and the profession. After changing the face of the Canadian journalistic establishment many of these newspapers became the establishment. Becoming successful business enterprises opened them up to the traditional establishment pressures, and ironically by the 1890s all the peoples' journals were receiving some form of patronage from the Conservative government in Ottawa, though they never completely lost their unique character as champions of populism.(28)

Grip was already fully established by the mid to late seventies when the peoples' press began to change the face of journalism. Grip, in its anti-corruption campaigns, reform urges, and with a more generalized entertainment approach to political concepts with its cartoons, can be viewed, albeit

speculatively, as a precursor to 'popular' journalism. It would not be wise to stress overly the similarities in approach between the reform press of the seventies and eighties and Grip, for the research on comic journals as a genre of journalism has not been done. Grip's cartoon political humour provided a form of entertainment rarely seen before, and the manner in which the body of his cartoon work formed an illustrated crusade for reform was suggestive of the crusade/reform philosophy of the peoples' press, but owed its debt of origin more to the groundbreaking work done by Thomas Nast between 1869 and 1871 in Harper's Weekly.

As with the 'peoples' press' Bengough's Grip was a champion of populism, but not in any radical sense. Only so far as society's problems could be identified with individuals or social vices, did Bengough view reform. Bengough would reiterate many times Grip's clarion call to independence and support of the downtrodden. Nevertheless, it is clear that Grip occupied a comfortable niche within the early seventies world of the partisan press. As mentioned previously, Grip was a prime example of a journal whose partisan nature was the result of ideological motivation and not patronage, though this was as much a factor of Grip's small size as Bengough's desire to avoid debt to a political party or politician. 1873 was an ideal year for the appearance of Grip as the Conservative government was about to fall over charges of election bribery and mismanagement of the

awarding of the Pacific Railway Charter. Bengough's populist reform sentiments were popular among his audience and Bengough could be both ideologically true to his personal political philosophies and fiscally responsible by providing copy that guaranteed a solid and large subscription list.

No discussion of Grip's position within the partisan press would be complete without an understanding of the influence Bengough possessed through the success of his journal. Grip entered the marketplace at a time when printing costs were low and publishers could still depend upon urban growth to provide an ever increasing reading public. During the first half of the nineteenth century there had been few books or magazines available to the general public. Between 1800 and 1840, the population of Ontario had increased rapidly from 70,000 to more than 450,000, but the population increase took place in a province where life was still in the rigorous pioneer stages and few settlers had the inclination to learn how to read, nor the luxury of time had they wished to do so.(29) As one pioneer's son in Peel County related: "his parents had too much of the 'prose of life' to be interested in prose of any other sort."(30) Though education acts had been passed in 1807 and 1816, the level and quality of education reflected no generally accepted standards of achievement. The 1950 Royal Commission on Education describes the level of literacy in this pioneer period:

> ... it appears likely that nearly all children remained

> at school long enough to learn to read in a halting, mechanical fashion and to spell orally a considerable number of words .... The pupils progressed from the alphabet to words of two or three syllables; and they had parallel lessons in reading .... After about 15 months of spelling and reading, approximately four fifths of the pupils remained to learn writing and arithmetic and to read and spell from more difficult books .... The usual common school education, therefore, consisted mainly of the study of spelling, reading, writing, and arithmetic during four six month periods of voluntary attendance.(31)

The Commission goes on to conclude that: "Meagre as such an education was, it at least equalled, if not indeed it did not surpass, that generally received by children in England and other countries at this time."(32)

It was during the 1840s that the Ontario school system experienced a revolution in organization at the hands of the Superintendent of Education, Egerton Ryerson. By 1850, he had cemented a strong provincial central authority, rigidly defined an "authorized" curiculum and had set standards by which teachers could be hired. With "persistent missionary zeal" Ryerson overcame reactionary opposition to provide Ontario with a unified, free school system that was constructed in a manner that would allow education to grow with the province.(33)

Between 1845 and the publication of Grip in 1873, the public school population had expanded at approximately twice the rate of the provincial population and the school year was lengthened from eight to ten months. School libraries, of which there were none in 1840, stood at over 11,000 by the early seventies.(34) To

quote Ryerson: "Education is a public good, ignorance a public evil."(35) The perception of education during Ryerson's era was decidedly utilitarian and progress was defined in rather crude terms of literacy. But by 1871, the number of literate in Ontario, however crudely defined, hovered at an amazing ninety per cent.(36)

By the same year the population of Ontario had grown to over one and a half million. The growth was steady, with urban centres accounting for most of the increase. Technology had advanced, improving communication with cheap penny postage and the telegraph, and transportation through the railroad. The wealth of the province grew and standards of living rose, correspondingly more individuals had the opportunity to indulge in the luxury of reading for information and pleasure. Most importantly the establishment of responsible government and the confederation of the provinces had extended political responsiblities to the point where the power of the press in a literate society was keenly felt:

> ... a literate people enjoy the social capacity to absorb new ideas readily and to adjust to general change quickly in pursuit of some agreed goal.(37)

It was a measure of Grip's influence that the journal was not only well-received by the increasingly literate general public but also by those politically informed and, with the sales demand in Ottawa as an indicator, by those politically

influential. A corrollary to the power of the politician to influence the press was the power of the press to influence the politician through his sensitivity to voter sentiment. An often avoided topic due to methodological difficulties, but significant aspect of the partisan press that Grip typified, was the manner in which the press could manipulate and focus public opinion:

> The press was the prime medium of information and opinion in the Canadian community during the late nineteenth century. Nobody had a closer contact with the public than journalists.(38)

Whether motivated by the concepts expressed, or the possibility that others might be, the power of the press to circulate ideas "loomed large in the calculations of parties and their leaders."(39) As will be seen, Grip from an early date was read by leaders of both the government and opposition parties and the crown as represented by the Governor-General. Grip during the 1870s and 1880s would prove to be an influential member of the partisan press. (40)

Grip allowed Bengough, through his cartoons, editorial comment, and selected contributions, to express long-held and deeply felt ideological beliefs. While Bengough, the public figure, confessed to being at home in churches of all denominations(41), his upbringing in a Presbyterian household in the 1850s and 1860s introduced him to Liberal Reform ideology. The link between the Presbyterian religion and reform had its roots in a crisis which split the Presbyterian Kirk of Scotland

in 1843. The conflict revolved around whether a lay patron could "intrude" a minister into a parish against a congregation's wishes. A Non-Intrusionist faction arose in the Church of Scotland which contended that such an action by a patron was a temporal abrogation of the spiritual freedom of the Kirk. When the General Assembly, the great annual parliament of the Church of Scotland, upheld the powers of patronage, the Non-Intrusionists withdrew from the assembly, forming the Free Church of Scotland. As J.M.S. Careless writes:

> Thus came the memorable Disruption, that carried close to 500 ministers and a large part of the Scottish population out of the Auld Kirk; that sent reverberations through Presbyterianism around the world. (42)

The debate within the Scottish Church led to a similar conflict within the Presbyterian Church in Canada. The Free Kirk supporters in Canada, lacking an organ for the presentation of their viewpoint to fellow church goers, enticed Peter Brown, known non-intrusionist sympathizer and father of George Brown, to transfer the publication of his journal, the British Chronicle, from New York to Toronto.(43) The Banner, as the paper was renamed in Canada, supported the Free Kirk cause and generally upheld British liberal and reform principles as it had in the United States, initially without recourse to party politics. The Browns soon found that "a detached non-partisan course was impossible for anyone of strong conviction in the Canada of

1843," the British liberal principles that seemed almost conservative in the United States were labelled radical in Tory Compact Canada West. Toronto Tories soon decided that the Presbyterian Banner was nothing more than a reform sheet and the Browns were quick to agree as they took up, along with Presbyterian reform, the cause of responsible government.(44) A commonality arose between being a Free Kirk Presbyterian and standing for the principles of Liberal Reform. Where Egerton Ryerson, ex-editor of the Methodist Christian Guardian and the strongest voice of Methodism in Canada in the 1830s and 1840s, turned Methodist opinion away from reform towards more moderate lines of thought, the Browns with the Banner and later the Globe led a reform campaign initially closely identified with Free Kirk Presbyterianism. Toronto became the capital of the Free Church of Scotland and the Scot settlers who made Toronto and points further West their home, as did the Bengough family, largely shared both Free Church and Liberal Reform sympathies.(45)

Perhaps it was the morally righteous flavour of Liberal Reform that so well complemented Free Kirk Presbyterianism. Members of the Free Church of Scotland united to defeat bureaucratic intervention that threatened to 'pollute' the church with state control and with the same goal of purification, Liberal Reform philosophy, at an apriori level, deplored the corrupting nature of party politics that seemingly left government only to the venal. As Frank Underhill wrote of the

moral nature of the reform outlook:

> ... no Reformer would have admitted for a moment that the struggle between his party and John A. Macdonald's "Corruptionists" was merely one of outs versus ins.(46)

It was George Brown's Globe that had stood out since mid-century as the greatest voice and maker of reform opinion in English Canada. Brown, himself, often drew comparisons between his role as editor and publisher of the Globe, and the English radicals Cobden and Bright who gave voice to the inarticulate classes in England.(47) In Canada, the largest inarticulate class was that of the farmer who often felt threatened by big business and government. Indeed, the Globe spoke for the farmer. Nevertheless, it would be an oversimplification to view liberalism as a product of agrarian radicalism, as the liberal creed was not an extension of frontier democracy. Brown was the leader of an urban and professional middle-class which had Toronto as it headquarters and the Globe, was an "urban liberal newspaper seeking to carry its viewpoint to the rural masses -- and generally succeeding."(48) It was true that Brown's newspaper:

> ... might speak generally on behalf of the western farming classes; but it would look specifically to the interests of the leaders of western agricultural society, which involved a good deal of concern for matters of commercial significance outside the ken of the ordinary farmer.(49)

Through the Globe, Liberal Reformers were reminded that responsible government had been achieved through reform agitation and that their party was still one with a moral mission. The underlying tenent of Liberal Reform thought was an idealistic antipathy towards a party system that maintained power through the subtle and often not so subtle recourse to bribery and patronage to influence sectional interests.(50) Grip's position within the partisan press as a staunch liberal reform journal was shaped by Bengough's belief in the immorality of the party system as practised by the federal Conservative party. As Bengough might have read in Goldwin Smith's Canadian and Monthly National Review a year before Grip's first appearance, and surely would have agreed with: "party without party principles becomes faction, and faction as inevitably supports itself by intrigue, demogogism and corruption."(51)

The press offered a forum from which to articulate one's political and social philosophies, but certainly journalism was not a status occupation in the nineteenth century. This was perhaps due in part to the lack of training necessary to enter the profession. The hours were long and the pay by no means exceptional. An 1882 wage survey found the reporter, albeit a 'low breed' of journalist, earning $550 a year for a sixty-two hour work week.(52) Nevertheless there was a promise in this exciting world of print. George Brown was a man of power and prestige, publishing a profitable quality newspaper and serving

as a role model for any young reform minded individual. With a daily circulation of 45,000 in 1872, the Globe had become the political bible in many a reform household.(53) Bengough's artistic mentor, Thomas Nast of the popular Harper's Weekly had achieved the ultimate acclaim for a cartoonist, that of 'public pundit', called upon for lecture tours and drawing immense crowds. Bengough was aware of this as an October 1873 issue of Grip made note of Nast's schedule of one hundred and twenty engagements for the "coming season." (54) The print trade was the standard beginning for any man bent upon a career in journalism and the distance between printer's devil and editor/cartoonist of his own journal was short for one as innately talented as Bengough.

What did J.W. Bengough perceive as the role of journalist? J.S. Willison told a University of Toronto audience in 1899 that it was:

> ....the business of the journalist to develop public opinion, to liberalize and energize the social and industrial forces, to utter the voice of the people, and go on his way stoutly.(55)

The London Advertiser defined the newspaper in 1865 as "a sort of oracle, or a least a valued mentor and friend, whose visit will always be prized."(56) Surely this was exactly how Bengough viewed the contribution of Grip, as a source of elevation rather than exploitation. The morally-disciplined and reform-minded Bengough brought out Grip into a marketplace that wanted to see

stout-hearted ideological conviction, and Bengough, once described as a "democrat's democrat" certainly provided this.(57) The press during this period was united portraying a society of Christian morals and ethics. His experience with the Gazette and Globe would have shown him this, and nothing was more compatable with Bengough's own understanding of society. No matter the bias of the press, whether radical protestant or conservative Catholic, the "gospel of order" was held to be true and self-evident. Christian morality was the force that bound society together.(58) Associated with this upholding of Christian values, was press' universal fear of anarchy. Crusades could seek to reform and purify the existing order but radicalism was an anathema. Bound up in these values was an unquestioning belief in the work ethic that complemented not only protestant values but also that of order. Gambling, get-rich-quick schemes, liquor and, of course, crime, were met with a disapproving united press front.(59)

The media's moral traditions, its ideologically encouraging partisan nature, and his experience in the field made a press career a natural for Bengough. However, the Canadian legacy in editorial cartooning made his launching of Grip more a product of the advancements in print technology and of faith, rather than a matter of following in established footsteps.

With an artist, stylistic debt can often easily be assigned

due to identifiable borrowings of another artist's techniques and mannerisms. This includes the artistic medium favoured, brush over pen or wax crayon over ink halftones, the methods of composition, or the editorial metaphors used for quick visual communication. Bengough's stylistic debt can be laid entirely at the feet of the great American cartoonist, Thomas Nast. A faithful mimic of Nast's line technique and compositional devices, Bengough developed a recognizably professional, if not refined, style of drawing. However, it is much more difficult to trace the intellectual debt owed by Bengough to his cartoonist forebearers.

The development of caricature and political cartooning in Canada, as it influenced Bengough, cannot be viewed in a historical or nationalistic vacuum. In the larger perspective, it is difficult to attribute to any one individual, school or time period the status of having created the editorial cartoon as we understand it: the use of mannerism to the point of distortion in the satiric rendering of a social or political situation or event. The first recognizable use of caricature and satire was in the seventeenth century when Italian artists experimented in linking facial characteristics to geographical origin. The famed sculpter, Bernini, introduced the technique of caricature, as divorced from illustration, to France in the later in century and by mid-seventeen hundred caricature and its offspring, visual political satire, had combined to achieve a

rather fashionable popularity. British and Dutch antagonism to the absolute monarchy of Louis XIV led to the development of the first extended series of cartoons on a single theme. This first cartoon campaign, printed in Holland and distributed cheaply, established the cartoon as a popular and legitimate form of social criticism. (60)

James Gilray was the first of a series of renowned English illustrators to devote their careers to the production of the political cartoon. His hatred of the bloody nature of the French Revolution led to the creation of a savagely biting series of works depicting the excesses occuring across the channel. Gilray, along with such artistic descendants as George Cruikshank and Thomas Rowlandson, also made many British parliamentary parodies of individuals and situations. Despite the personal ridicule, it was considered a mark of acclaim to be featured in such caricatures, though some, notably George IV while Regent, would often 'pension' cartoonists to keep their victim's personal vulgarities out of the public eye. The print shop display of cartoonists' works was akin to today's newspaper headline and television newsflash. (61)

The first publication to carry cartoons as its forte was the Parisian weekly La Caricature in 1830, closely followed by the daily Le Charivari in 1832. A cartoonist, Charles Philipon was the founder of both journals and introduced the works of the master French cartoonist, Henri Daumier, to the world. A

consumate artist, Daumier was also an accomplished sculptor and painter. He was an enemy of social injustice and never hesitated to wield a cutting brush in creating his cartoon masterpieces. Underscoring his dedication to his craft, and certainly an indication of the societal impact of the cartoon, Daumier spent six months in jail in 1832 for an unrecanted and devasting satiric caricature of King Louis Philippe.(62)

The cartoon journal came of age in 1841 with the appearance in Great Britain of Punch. With imaginative draughtsmen as John Tenniel, best known for his illustrations of Alice in Wonderland, and John Leech, a new professional standard was set for nineteenth century cartooning. Cartooning moved away form the earlier savagery of Gilray and adapted the romanticism and patriotism of Daumier within the Victorian context of discipline and restaint. The Victorian cartoon as defined within the pages of Punch was more refined than French and British works of the early century, both in content and technique. A cartoon historian was quoted in 1877: "Our respectable ancestors had not the least notion of what we call decency....Many of [Gilray's] works could not now be exhibited." (63) Even as early as 1835, a collection of George Cruikshank's best works, as chosen by the artist himself, excluded the less tasteful cartoons originally published early in the century.(64)

The British magazine Punch and its London contemporaries inspired many imitators in the United States and Canada that

outrightly copied its style; American Punch and Southern Punch were American incarnations, while in Canada, J.B. Walker, an Irish immigrant in Montreal began the bi-weekly publication of Punch in Canada in 1949. A single large sheet folded over into quarters to make an eight page folio, Walker's Punch in Canada lasted less than two years, but provided such a lively treatment of local topical issues during its existence that it compelled Bengough to introduce his 1886 retrospective of Canadian political cartooning with examples of Walker's work. (65) Favourite cartoon themes were the question of annexation to the United States and the French/English rivalry that was first introduced after the burning of the Montreal parliament buildings in 1849. (66)

While British cartoons had "abandoned the vicious snarl for the genteel smile," American cartoonists developed a "tougher and more distinctive" style in their work as more suitable to their style of politics. (67) This more aggressive tenor can be seen in Thomas Nast's early Civil War cartoons where even graphic decapitations were not considered beyond the bounds of good taste in a family journal. (68) Though Mosher and Desbarats claim in The Hecklers that Canadian cartoonists borrowed the rougher American sense of humour in their work, a sampling of Canadian cartoons between 1850 and 1890 portray much of the Victorian gentility of their British counterparts, appealing to moral decency and with patriotic representations of Britannia and

Maiden Canada.(69) The same sampling of cartoons might betray a similarity in artistic style to American works, but even this would be misleading as the Englishman, John Tenniel, set the international artistic standard by which to judge professionalism. Nast, himself, had been greatly influenced by the artistic technique of Tenniel. Inspired by the style of an 1869 Tenniel Punch cartoon, Nast abandoned his brush for the pencil, through which every line in an engraved work would then be the result of his own hand and not the interpretation of a wash brushstroke by an anonymous engraver.(70)

A number of now obscure English language comic and literary journals were published in Canada between 1850 and 1870, most of which had a brief life. Some of their names, though buried by the passage of more than a century, possess a certain haunting familiarity to the modern ear. Nonsense, Jester, Gridiron, Sprite, Grinshuckle, Stadacona, and Grumbler are a sampling. The use of humour or satire was uneven in these journals and secondary to the written contributions. Not until the publication of the Canadian Illustrated News in 1868 did the cartoon, albeit in a stilted and undeveloped form, become a significant feature in a journal.(71)

The rarity of the cartoon during this period owed more to technological limitations than to any lack of an appreciative audience, and the origin of Grip owed much to the development of a technology that made the publication of illustrations

economically feasible. Etching was the traditonal method of preparing an illustration for reproduction in the early nineteenth century. It was a labourious process that few cartoonists employed consistently, being more applicable to the fine illustration where there was not the time constraints of a weekly schedule. The process involved the transferring of the finished drawing to tracing paper which was then placed reversed upon an etching plate. This plate, made of copper, would have previously been coated with a thin constant layer of acid resistant wax called the ground. Taken to a printer, the plate and drawing would then be placed between two pieces of dampened paper and run through a press whose pressure left a faint silvery impression of the drawing upon the ground. With a series of sharp needles of various thicknesses the artist would cut through to the copper beneath the ground. The skilful use of the needle created subtle variations of line and tone. With an image cut the plate is dipped in an acid bath which slowly etches its way into the exposed copper leaving the wax covered portion of the plate untouched. Once again sent to the printer the plate would be covered in ink and then wiped off, leaving ink only within the recessed etched lines. Pressing moistened paper upon the plate under great pressure resulted in a perfect reproduction of the illustration. (72)

By the 1820s an Englishman by the name of Turell had developed an acid solution that was strong enough to cut into

steel plates. This resulted in a finer deeper line as the acid was not able to spread sideways as it could in copper cuts. More delicate lines and subtler shadings were the result of this innovation, but the two major limitations of this process, of which one was expense, were not overcome. The other limiting factor in etching's propagation was that while the printed word was reproduced from raised type, engraving was produced by pressure upon recessed lines. The same printing press could not accomodate both at the same time -- making reproduction either a costly double strike -- or having illustrations produced on separate leafs and then coalated at the binding stage.(73)

Whereas copper or steel plate etching was a long and technically awkward method of mass reproduction, the process of lithography, as originally developed in 1792 and adapted widely in print by the mid-nineteenth century, proved to avoid some of the limitations inherent in etching. As Bangough described the technique:

> The drawing was done with lithographic ink upon "transfer paper" -- this is paper coated with a surface of composition which enabled the work to be transferred to the lithographic stone, under severe pressure in a press operated by hand. The skill required in mixing the ink (which was of a somewhat greasy nature) and using the pen upon the prepared paper, was only onee to be obtained by long practice: and the printed results in many cases no doubt came short of doing justice to the originals.(74)

Compared to etching, the process was very inexpensive and allowed the artist the time saving ability to draw directly upon the

printing surface, though, as Bengough noted, sometimes with varying results. The trips back and forth from the printer were eliminated, but still, as with etching, the lithographic stone could not be inserted in the letter press along with text. (75) But the technology, though primitive, allowed Grip to have an inexpensive start on life. For the first few years Grip cartoons were lithographed on separate sheets, later enclosed within the body of the journal. The lack of expense and the ease of reproduction made Grip feasible and the lithographed cartoon, inadvertently emphasized by separate inclusion, became the focal point of the weekly.

For awhile in the mid-seventies, Grip turned to wood engravings, "drawings made directly upon boxwood blocks" that were inserted directly into the printing frame with the text. The unique technique of wood engraving was invented in the late seventeenth century by Thomas Bewick in England. By carefully transferring a drawing to the surface of a wood block, usually of pear of alder that had been whitened with chalk, the illustration was carefully cut "around" by an engraver or cutter leaving the lines of the drawing raised upon the block. (76) This type of engraving necessitated a 'thought reversal' from the usual pattern of wood cutting. The cutter visualizes the illustration as a pattern of white lines that he delicately cuts out -- working in reverse to leave as much of the wood's surface intact for inking.(77) Not only was wood engraving compatible with

raised type but the invention of the stereotype technique made it suitable for use in the high-speed steam operated presses that began appearing in Canada in the 1850s. The technique of stereotype involved the production of a durable metal casting of the wood block that could withstand thousands of multiple pressings. Bengough used the wood engraving method for a period but was dissatisfied with the results:

> The work had thus to be left to the "translation" of the wood engraver, and he usually managed to whittle away the likenesses and otherwise spoil the intended effect, besides sending in bills which were rather beyond our resouces. (78)

For a short period in the early eighties, Grip retreated to lithography for its illustrative reproductions, but the entrepreneur and businessman in Bengough saw a glimmer of the future when;

> ...there walked into the office a quaint and characteristic Scotchman, who announced that he could make an autographic reproduction of a drawing which could be printed along with the type. (79)

This man, William Stewart, "was deeply immersed in the mysteries of his new art" which he claimed as his own discovery. This Bengough doubted, but Stewart was unquestionably the pioneer of zinc-etching in Toronto and the technique made Grip Printing and Publishing a leader in the modern Canadian engraving industry. (80) Zinc-etching combined the advantages of lithography and wood engraving, using acid to cut around the desired relief of the

cartoon. It was also less expensive than either.(81) Grip, by the end of its run, became the product of the largest and best equipped, if over-extended, engraving house in Canada.(82)

If Bengough had merely been the follower of established pattern, it would be fair to assume that he would have made a name for himself as a editor of a Canadian newspaper. The intrinsic attractions of the press, both moral and ideological, made it a natural career choice. The Christian and work ethic values held by the press, and its partisan nature that encouraged political awareness, appealed to Bengough's Presbyterian upbringing and Liberal Reform sentiments. The artist and innovator in Bengough -- coupled with rapid improvements in print technology that became increasingly available in the seventies and eighties -- convinced him that with 'a modest investment of funds and a great investment of effort, he had a chance to succeed in the role of independent publisher. Success promised not only a forum for his cartoons, which was a dream held ever since his introduction to the works of Nast, but also the influence, if not to change points of view, then at least to provide a focus for reform sentiment. Yet for all his hard work and talent, Bengough may not have succeeded with Grip had not the Pacific Railway Scandal inspired him to emulate Thomas Nast's great Tweed Ring cartoon campaign of 1869-71, and to take Canadian editorial cartooning to unexplored new heights. Prior

to Bengough there had been no real tradition in editorial cartooning in Canada and no real publishing successes in which the cartoon played a major role. In artistic technique, and in the sharpness of his wit and the incisiveness of his satire, Bengough would fashion a tradition of Canadian editorial cartooning. The expression of which would leap almost full-blown into being with his Pacific Scandal Cartoons, and in later years earn him the approbation of editorial cartoonists of international stature.

CHAPTER II ENDNOTES

(1) Rutherford, Victorian Authority, p.34.

(2) Ibid.,p.35.

(3) Rowell's American News Directory,(New York: Rowell and Co., 1872).

(4) Mosher and Desbarats, pp.40-44.

(5) Ibid., pp40-52.

(6) W.H. Kesterton, A History of Journalism in Canada (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1967),pp.27,63,64.

(7) Rutherford, Victorian Authority, p.6.

(8) Brian P.N. Beaven, "Partisanship, Patronage, and the Press in Ontario, 1880-1914: Myths and Realities," Canadian Historical Review LXIV, September 1983, p.320.

(9) Ibid., p.319.

(10) Ibid., pp.319,320,325.

(11) Rutherford, Victorian Authority,pp.146-148.

(12) Beaven, pp.318-319.

(13) Rutherford, Victorian Authority, p.85.

(14) Beaven, p.343.

(15) Ibid.,p.318.

(16) Rutherford, Victorian Authority, p.224.

(17) Beaven, p.319.

(18) Ibid.,p.334.

(19) Ibid.

(20) Rutherford, Victorian Authority, p.217.

(21) Beaven, p.341.

(22) Ibid., p.350.

(23) Paul Rutherford, "The Peoples' Press: The Emergence of the New Journalism in Canada, 1869-99," Canadian Historical Review LVI, June 1975, p.173.

(24) Ibid., pp.180-181.

(25) Ibid., p.191.

(26) Ibid., p.174.

(27) Ibid., p.178.

(28) Ibid., p.186.

(29) Report on the Royal Commission on Education in Ontario (Toronto: Baptist Johnston, 1950),p.10. Hereafter cited as the Hope Report.

(30) Gagan, p.8.

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(32) Ibid.

(33) Ibid., p.12.

(34) Ibid., p.13.

(35) Rutherford, Victorian Authority, p.24.

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(38) Rutherford, "The Peoples' Press....," p.169.

(39) K.Z. Paltiel, Political Party Financing in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970)

(40) See Chapter III for the nature of Grip's 'elite' readership.

(41) Morgan, 1912, p.91.

(42) Careless, Brown, Vol.1, pp.20-21.

(43) Ibid., pp.20-21,59.

(44) Ibid., pp.28-29.

(45) Ibid., pp.59-60.

(46) Frank H. Underhill, "Political Ideas of the Upper Canada Reformers," Canadian Historical Association Report 1944, p.104.

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(48) J.M.S. Careless, "The Toronto Globe, and Agrarian Radicalism 1850-1867," Canadian Historical Review XXIX, March 1948, pp.1-2,6.

(49) Ibid., p.5

(50) Underhill, "Political Ideas....," p.104.

(51) Goldwin Smith, Canadian and Monthly Nation Review, 1872, cited in Underhill, "Political Ideas....," p.104.

(52) Rutherford, Victorian Authority, p.81.

(53) Ibid., p.42.

(54) Grip, 4 December 1873.

(55) J.S. Willison, "University of Toronto Political Science Address," cited in Rutherford, Victorian Authority, p.145.

(56) London Advertiser, 14 January 1865, quoted in Rutherford, Victorian Authority, p.198.

(57) Morgan, 1912, p.91.

(58) Rutherford, Victorian Authority, pp.170-171.

(59) Ibid., 174.

(60) Mosher and Desbarats, p.24.

(61) Ibid., pp.24-25, 27.
George Cruikshank, Cruikshankiana (London: McLean, 1835)

(62) Mosher and Desbarats, p.28.

(63) Victorian Cartoon Historian, quoted in Mosher and Desbarats, p.29.

(64) Cruikshank.

(65) J.W. Bengough, A Caricature History of Canadian Politics (Toronto: Grip Printing and Publishing, 1885).

(66) Ibid.

(67) Mosher and Desbarats, p.29.

(68) Paine, p.69.

(69) Bengough, A Caricature History....

(70) Paine, p.135.

(71) Mosher and Desbarats, pp.42-43.

(72) Hilary and Mary Evans, The Man Who Drew the Drunkard's Daughter: The Life and Art of George Cruikshank 1792-1878 (London: Frederick Miller, 1978), pp.24-25.

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(74) J.W. Bengough, March 1909, pp.185-186.

(75) Canada Illustrated: The Art of Nineteenth Century Engraving (Toronto; Dreadnaught, 1982), p.19.

(76) Evans, p.26.

(77) Canada Illustrated, p.10.

(78) J.W. Bengough, March 1909, p.186.

(79) Ibid.

(80) Charlesworth, Saturday Night.

(81) American Dictionary of Printing and Bookmaking (New York: Howard Lockwood and Co., 1894), pp. 468, 591.

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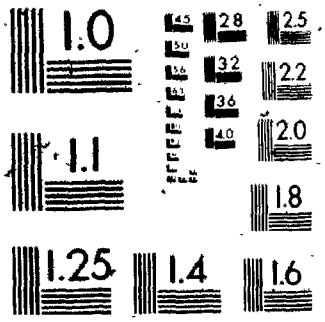
CHAPTER III: THE PACIFIC SCANDAL CARTOONS --
A Slice of Canadian History and the Perspective of the Editorial Cartoon

The enthusiastic public reception to Bengough's Pacific Scandal cartoons and the hunger with which succeeding weekly issues of Grip were consumed by eager readers owed much to the tense political crisis into which the cartoons were introduced. Always topical, Bengough's cartoons of this early Grip period captured with a cynical sense of humour the moral indignation of a nation profoundly disturbed at the serious drama unfolding in Ottawa between the months of March and November 1873. In a manner that could not be matched by the written press of the period, the series of twenty-five works that can be grouped as the Pacific Scandal cartoons put the Macdonald government on public trial. To Bengough's good fortune, the evidence of corruption and bribery in the waging of the election campaign of 1872 and in the awarding of the charter for the building of the transcontinental railroad allowed Grip to become a popular and profitable forum for public anger, and confirmed the editorial



cartoon as a legitimate voice of editorial comment.

Bengough's cartoons and Grip capitalized upon the events of 1873 but the climate into which they were received was a product of the stormy legislative session and the federal election of the preceding year. As the year 1872 wound to a close, so did the term of office of the first government under Confederation. The two chief parliamentary debates of the legislative session of 1872 concerned the ratification of the generally unpopular Treaty of Washington and the passage of the bill to set the terms of the renumeration for the construction of the Canadian Pacific railway.(1)

Debate over the treaty had been in preparation for well over a year and both parties felt there was little new to be said. The Liberals organized their objections to the treaty on the issue that the Anglo-American agreement was a betrayal of Canadian sovereignty. The treaty was conceived to negotiate an agreement to settle nearly a century of accumulated discord between Britain and the United States, however the lack of active British support for Canadian claims during the negotiations had forced, in the Liberal view, Canada's surrender of too many valuable concessions. (2) Hamilton Fish, Secretary of the American Department of State and senior member of the American commission, insightfully manipulated the British contingent with the knowledge that England would be sensitive to Canada asserting its "parochial" claims, outside of the perspective of general

imperial interests. Hopes of a British/Canadian front to the negotiations collapsed, and to borrow the words of Professor Creighton, John A. Macdonald, the junior commissioner and sole Canadian representative on the commission, "feared that his country's rights would be sacrificed to the achievement of Anglo-American accord" and Earl de Grey, head of the British Commission, "was perturbed lest the welfare of the Empire be imperilled by the intransigence of Canadian claims."(3) Overruled by his imperial seniors, Macdonald was reduced to affixing his signature to a document that ignored the pertinent Canadian issue of compensation of Fenian raids, that exchanged free navigation of the St. Lawrence for similar rights upon a trio of remote Alaskan streams and reduced the dreams of a reciprocity treaty similar to that of 1854 to the single exemption of Canadian fish from United States tariffs. Probably most galling to Liberal observers was that this tariff exemption on fish had been achieved at the cost of trading away, the rights of inland fishing to the Americans,(4) a perogative jealously guarded by the Canadians since 1818.

Facing popular censure, Macdonald exercised the political genius that even his fiercest opponents would admit to be his. Macdonald carefully took no offical party position upon the treaty but he let his personal dissatisfaction with the settlement be known and in his private correspondence passed the responsibility onto the British government and emphasized his

obligation to sign the treaty.(5) In parliamentary debate, Macdonald allowed the Liberals their opportunity to denounce the treaty as a betrayal of Canadian interests and himself for returning empty-handed. Anticipating a partisan attack upon his personal lack of achievement and while backed into a most uncomfortable political corner, Macdonald revealed the price he had extracted from the British for his signature. Permanently blunting the opposition attacks which had come to rest upon his personal inability to extract concessions from the Americans or British, Macdonald revealed that in return for his signature, and for standing with the empire despite the perceived costs to Canada, he had negotiated a guaranteed imperial loan of 2,500,000 pounds to be directed towards the building of a transcontinental railway.(6)

Macdonald had extracted himself from an uneviable political crisis by deflecting the opposition's focus upon one of the young Dominion's grandest physical and political endeavours, the building of a transcontinental railway. Though the railroad had become part of an inducement to gain British Columbia's entrance into Confederation, everyone but the most myopic could see the national profit to be gained from such a construction. A transcontinental railroad would prevent American encroachment upon the mid-west, especially the commercially competitive threat of the American Northern Pacific Railway.(7) The Liberals were fierce advocates of western expansion and believed that Canada's

future depended on the solid incorporation of the west into the Dominion. (8) Linking the duty of treaty acceptance with the guarantee of imperial assistance in building the railroad allowed Macdonald to emerge unscarred from a potentially fatal political situation. The ratification vote of the bill was carried 121 to 55 with a majority showing from each province. Subsequent readings were passed with equal majorities.(9)

With his loan guarantee and victory over treaty ratification, Macdonald was able to introduce successfully the bill for the Canadian Pacific Railway. The government's goal was a completed transcontinental line from somewhere near Lake Nipissing to the Pacific shore completed within a ten year period dated from 20 July 1871. The bill called for a charter to be granted by order-in-council to the successful private tender who would receive fifty million acres of land and thirty million dollars in payment. The bill passed first reading but not until the Liberals had forced the Conservatives to attach an amendment to the effect that subsidies endorced by the government were not to increase the tax burden. The Liberal position was on record not to attack the goal of the Conservative measure but to be expressly concerned over the immense estimated expenditure committed to in the bill, the lack of immediate commercial potential in the railway, and the short period of time in which to complete the terms of the British Columbia agreement. As a party led by the interests of the urban and rural "thrifty middle

class," the Liberals were ideologically suspicious of large government expenditures (10) and had a good memory of the railroad boom of the early 1850s and the manner in which public funds were used in private speculation to line the pockets of corrupt politicians.(11) John Wilson Bengough was one of the "thrifty middle class" liberals and the rumours of election scandal and bribery that surfaced within the first days of the parliamentary session of 1873 would arouse in him the traditional inbred repugnance of immoral alliances between government and business interests.

The second parliament of Canada was opened in March of 1873 during the crucial period for Bengough of defining and redefining the publication that would shortly appear as Grip. Still employed full-time at the Globe as a reporter and with the orchestration of Grip filling his free hours, Bengough was living and breathing with the political events of the times. In February, the Canada Gazette had published the announcement of the awarding of the Pacific Railway Charter to the Montreal shipping magnate, Sir Hugh Allan, and even before the opening of the legislature, the Globe had been hammering away at the Conservatives in print. The paper stressed two main points: that Allan was known to be fronting for American capital and that the Conservatives had never had any intention of tendering the charter to any save the Allan consortium.(12)

To the general public, rumours of impending political

scandal took their place in a long line of past political revelations falsely promised by an over-zealous partisan Liberal press. Nevertheless, the Globe offices were buzzing with an optimistic anticipation for the coming legistative session. Brown was almost certainly unaware of the Liberal-held evidence linking the CPR appointment with Allan's election fund donations of the previous year, but the election had increased Liberal representation in the House, putting party members in a self-righteous and infectious fighting mood.(13) While Grip was taking shape in Bengough's mind and upon draft paper, his work at the Globe offices was exposing him to the fervour and scent of a Liberal party that sensed political points to be made.

April 2nd 1872 was a momentuous yet oddly anti-climatic day in Liberal Reform annals. Lucious Seth Huntington, Liberal member for Shefford, rose in the Commons upon recognition by the Speaker of the House and called for a motion of no confidence in the government, asking that a seven member committee be appointed to investigate serious charges of corruption in the awarding of the Canadian Pacific Railroad charter. Huntington asserted that Sir Hugh Allan and the Canadian Pacific Railroad Company represented American capital interests and, that to obtain this charter, Allan had advanced large sums of money to the election coffers of the Conservative in 1872. (14) There was drama in the motion as Huntington, usually a polished and melodious speaker,

spoke with a tremor in this voice and in so soft a tone that back benchers were forced to lean forward in their seats to hear his words.(15) But it was the height of anti-climax as Huntington retook his seat without offering substantiating evidence for the charges. The motion was defeated by the largest Conservative majority that session. Nevertheless, the rumours of impropriety had found voice in an official charge in the House and could not easily be stilled with a single parliamentary vote. There was an uneasiness apparent to Macdonald among his party members and a week following, to avoid the appearance of stiffling investigation and to reassure his caucus, the prime minister gave notice that he would set up a five member bi-partisan investigatory committee consisting of Liberal members, Edward Blake and A.A. Dorion, but chaired by the arch-Conservative John Hillyard Cameron. Even in the secure hands of Cameron, Macdonald was perturbed when he saw the damaging list of witnesses that the committee wished to call upon. When Alexander Mackenzie called for an Oath's Bill to allow the committee to collect evidence under oath, Macdonald saw his opportunity to delay the proceedings and begin a series of delaying tactics, the type of which earned him the soubriet "Old Tomorrow." With prescience, he saw that such a bill would be considered ultra vires by the British parliament, effectively muzzling the committee's powers of investigation long enough to permit the prorogation of parliament, beyond which the committee could not exist under

House regulations. In the Committee's place, Macdonald was able to effect with Lord Dufferin's approval the appointment of a Royal Commission consisting of three commissioners of the prime minister's choice. (16)

To say that such a situation was infuriating to the Liberals was accurate to the point of understatement. The Globe was perturbed that the Liberal MPs had allowed Macdonald to prevent the introduction of evidence into Hansard when Huntington had had the opportunity, and as far as the public was concerned:

> ...the cry of bare-faced corruption had lost its potency from overuse by the newspapers....The "news" stories emanating from Ottawa were no more impartial than the editorials and were not expected to be. Opinion, personal comment, prejudice and shrill invective enlivened every page and the charge of corruption...was made so often and so recklessly that the public had long since come to expect it and ignore it. (17)

The press readership of the nineteenth century found the written word of the partisan press repetitive and bombastic to the point of overkill. The appearance of Bengough's Grip cartoon as a voice of indignant editorial opinion fell as did a proverbial shower upon parched earth. Put quite simply, the cartoons were such a novelty in the early 1870s, that although Bengough was not Canada's first political cartoonist, he was perceived as such by the greatly expanded reading public of the period. As journalist Jack Batten concluded in a short survey of Canadian editorial cartoonists: "Bengough was working in a genre

that was too young to have developed a tradition of its own." (18) What Batten failed to realize that Bengough, himself, was to create a tradition of editorial cartooning for Canada.

The modern cartoon crusade was a seried exposé technique that was first introduced by Thomas Nast in a singularly brilliant collection of approximately forty-four cartoon drawings produced during 1869 through 1871 in reaction to the corrupt Boss Politics of the New York City Tweed Ring. As with Harper's Weekly, Grip published with only a weekly frequency and therefore the number of campaigns or crusade themes that could be treated was naturally limited. Extremely topical issues, due to their short 'newsworthy' life left little scope for any extended cartoon development. It was only issues that because of the extended nature of their news interest, such as the Pacific Scandal or the National Policy, or because of their perennial nature, temperance or tax reform for example, that provided rich fodder for the cartoon campaign. On the most immediate and pragmatic level, the 'to-be-continued' campaign kept readers returning each week for the newest critique or revelation; in its broadest context the cartoon campaign created, as it did under Bengough, an illustrated history of an era.

The Pacific Scandal has its first mention in Grip, not in a cartoon, but within a column entitled: "Croaks From Grip's Basket." It had been seven weeks since Huntington had stood in

the House to make his charges, the substance or lack of substance of which was still a topical issue:

> Nobody can doubt the gravity of this crisis....HUNTINGTON says JOHN A. is a rogue, and if it is so it is a grievous fault. But JOHN A. is a Right Honourable man; and if the charge isn't true, HUNTINGTON is in a pretty kettle of fish. But HUNTINGTON is an Honourable man, and he inculpates the whole Ministry, all -- all -- Honourable men. Surely this is a grave occasion.(19)

With this Bengough set the tone for the ensuing seven month series of cartoons: the mocking satire of the raised Victorian eyebrow.

The following week "After the Session"(Fig.1) was published and Sir John A. Macdonald and Alexander Mackenzie made their debut in a Bengough cartoon. The cartoon is memorable, not so much for its subject matter or composition, but rather for its caricatures of Macdonald and Mackenzie which appeared in definitive form in their first public presentation.(20)

Three rather unremarkable cartoons were released in the pages of Grip during June and July, awkward in artistic technique and shallow in comic depth. This was in contrast to the events in Ottawa as the Scandal began to heat up. Correspondence between Allan and prominent Conservatives that the Liberals were unable to get on the record in parliament had been published in the Globe. Rumours of the extent of Macdonald's involvement in the impropriеties grew and the publication of an affidavit from Allan, attesting that any arrangements between himself and either

Cartier or Macdonald had been cancelled at Macdonald's hand, did little to reduce the increasing significance that the resumption of parliament planned for August 18th was gaining. (21) On July 18th, the most damning evidence was published simutaneously in the Toronto Globe, the Montreal Herald and the Quebec Evenement. Telegrams sent from Macdonald and Cartier to Allan's solicitor, J.J.C. Abbott were revealed, the most infamous reading: "Immediate, private, I must have another ten thousand. Will be last time of calling. Do not fail me! Answer today." It was signed by Macdonald. If Macdonald was to have a political prayer then he needed time to allow the revelations to lose their hard edge, and to have the matter relegated to the comparative safety of a royal commission. On the other hand, Mackenzie needed desperately to keep the issue inside the House and to prevent Macdonald from adjourning parliament immediately after the scheduled August meeting.

With the "familiar scene of the railway passenger and his friends the 'cabbies'" in "Dufferin's Tormentors"(Fig.2), Bengough first displayed the sense of comic satire that would within weeks harden to a sharp and pointed edge. Macdonald, with a sly wink of political empathy, seeks to relieve Lord Dufferin of the awkward baggage of prorogation, while Mackenzie eagerly awaits the opportunity to deal with the Governor-General's burden in his own manner.(22) The only noble figure is that of Dufferin as he vice-regally rejects the anxious advances of either

political party. However, Bengough was somewhat naive in his interpretation of the Governor-General's personal and constitution persuasions. Within the cartoon the tension is tripartite as Dufferin, as the central focus within the drawing, draws his portmanteau away from Macdonald's grasp and waves a dismissal to Mackenzie with a suitable imperial gesture. In contrast to Bengoughs's perceptions; Dufferin was favourably disposed towards his first minister. The Gladstone government in England was generally identified with the Manchester "Little England" school of thought which did not find the idea of self-governing colonies unattractive. Both Dufferin and the Home Office saw the mission of the Governor-General as dispensing wise imperial guidance within the role of aiding the better understanding between colony and mother nation.(23) Bengough's poetic plea to Dufferin was: "Wisest, Greatest, Best of Governors, do not let MacD go unpunished"; nevertheless, Frederick Temple Blackwood, Earl of Dufferin, though a liberal in British politics, was a widely read man of cosmopolitan experience and was positively influenced by political considerations and the suave charm of Macdonald.(24) Dufferin was often exasperated by what he viewed as the provincialism and myopia of Canadian politicians and found Macdonald to be a man of his own understanding.

Still secure in his appraisal of Dufferin's vice-regal impartiality, on 9 August 1873, Bengough published "The Dainty

Dish"(Fig.3). Fittingly one of Bengough's most famous works, Edward Blake and Alexander Mackenzie manfully hold up for Dufferin's surveyance the Pacific Scandal Pie whose ingredients included, along with such well-known blackbirds as Macdonald and Sir Hugh Allan, the winged visages of: Sir Francis Hincks; Uncle Sam; T.C. Patteson, editor of the Conservative Mail; and Macdonald's new French-Canadian lieutenant, H. Langevin. (25)

But Bengough's faith in the British-connection was to be shaken as Dufferin aceded to the wishes of his first minister and granted Macdonald, albeit grudgingly, his prorogation and a ten week stay during which a royal commission of Macdonald's composition could be assembled, take evidence and report back to parliament. "Whither Are We Drifting"(Fig.4) is a dramatic and fluid composition, powerful in its presentation and savage in Bengough's placement of Macdonald's booted foot upon the suplicated neck the maiden Canada. The growing strength of Bengough's pen was apparent with each passing week. A bottle peaks out from Macdonald's back pocket and written on his hands are the words: "Send me another $10,000."(26) The cry, "These hands are clean!", were imputed to have been Macdonald's words in the House when confronted with evidence of corruption. The statement became a "popular by-word" while discussing the scandal and the cartoon gave focus to the general indignation that spread throughout the country as it was perceived that the investigation was being manipulated.(27) Since Grip's late May inception,

Bengough's work had developed a more aggressive feel for satire:

> ...satirical prints conveyed the news, they joined in the political fight, they taught people not to view their superiors with excessive reverence. They parodied the likenesses of public figures more tellingly than suave official portraits ever do (and this in itself gives them lasting value) they were almost above the law: a fear of compounding the ridicule had long made victims refrain from taking action against statements which, if printed in the newspapers might easily have brought convictions for libel. (28)

The sophisticated satire of this cartoon compares favourably to any of the classic works of Thomas Nast, and helped to lead to the establishment of Bengough as a cartoonist of social import and note.

A week before the Royal Commission was due to begin its investigation "The Beauties of a Royal Commission"(Fig.5) appeared in Grip. Feeling that at "this rate we shall probably get to know all about this affair by the time we get bald-headed," Bengough dismissed this second investigation as having little promise.(29) Huntington commented upon Bengough's cartoon in the House of Parliament:

> Oh! what a hang-dog look had that criminal in the dock.(laughter) How sage wise, dispassionated, and blind was the judge upon the bench; and what a flippant, spruce, determined, plucky, and resolute appearance had the fellow who as Attorney-General, was prosecuting the prisoner.(Great Laughter) This is scarcely a caricature, but is really a living representation of what actually took place. (30)

And indeed it was such. The Commission opened on September 4th

with three old tried but true Conservative judges handpicked to serve as commissioners by Macdonald. Macdonald himself took personal control of the cross-examination, assisted by A. Campbell and H. Langevin.

To the Liberals, the Commission was an "inferior or exceptional tribunal" and they refused to acknowlege its authority to conduct the investigation.(31) When called as witnesses, the Liberals declined to appear or simply left town. The commission was stymied but the "investigation" continued in Macdonald's quest to assemble a convincing body of evidence that would substantiate his claim that any promise of the presidency of the Canadian Pacific Railway was not in exchange for campaign sums that were eventually totalled at $343,000, an immense amount of money.(32) The conflicting efforts of both political parties to gather evidence to further their arguments was to be captured in "Blackwash and Whitewash" as a comedy of farcical proportion.(33) Macdonald had waited 'nobilily' for Huntington to appear before the commission with his evidence. His failure to appear was interpreted by the Conservatives as fear -- Bengough translated this 'fear' into high irony: no one would dare to face the righteous Prime Minister as he prepared to fight for the propriety of his actions.(Fig.6) In absolute panic the comic figures of Huntington and Brown were portrayed in full flight from the awesome figure of an 'unjustly' maligned Macdonald.(34)

The full weight of the Pacific Scandal had come to rest upon

the shoulders of Macdonald. Cartier had died in May from the incurable Bright's disease and Macdonald stood alone as the target of the opposition and the Liberal press. "Blackwash and Whitewash"(Fig.7) emphasized this contemporary perception with a bust of Macdonald occupying the central focus of the cartoon. The state of the reputation of Macdonald came to represent either the survival or destruction of his ministry. Like schoolboys, Brown and and his colleagues took great pleasure in spreading political tar while the Conservative press supported a large tub of whitewash that Macdonald, with an intense look of concentration, was applying to the bust of his face with schoolmasterly dedication. That the whole affair had come to ressemble a circus was a natural analogy, and one that Bengough used in "The Irrepressible Showman."(Fig.8) The crew of the Pacific Scandal had earned a certain notoriety that, if P.T. Barnum could book the Conservatives for his tour, the nation would flock to view his display.(35) Certainly Grip was being watched. Upon reprinting Huntington's parliamentary commentary upon his "Blackwash and Whitewash" cartoon in a November Grip, Bengough thanked him in print for recognizing "Grip's rightful position as the Instructor of Parliament." Turning this notice into a promotion, he hoped that "hon. Members and all others learn that there is real utility in subscribing for Grip." In this same early issue, Bengough noted and thanked Lord Dufferin for having "graciously honored" Grip's subscription list with the

addition of his name.(36)

Bengough was a realist, not an innocent. He was not naive to the spoils of political power and patronage, but the liberal within him had faith in the ideals of a party that did not succumb to corrupt partyism. The farce of the Royal Commission and Macdonald's apparent invulnerability weighed heavy in contrast to his sense of moral righteousness. Commission testimony had confirmed the receipt of vast sums of money from Allan and his American backers during the election of 1872, but the truest scandal lay in Macdonald's warped confidence that the acceptance of these funds in no manner implied an indebtedness on his behalf to Allan. That Allan gained the presidency of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company was apparently to be considered due only to the shipping magnate's qualifications as a successful entrepreneur. On September 26th, with what struck Bengough as the height of patent absurdity, the Toronto Mail, a staunch member of the Conservative partisan press, lamented that: "We in Canada have lost any any idea of justice, honour and integrity."(37) Within the week a Bengough cartoon titled with that very quote appeared depicting Bengough's perception of Macdonald's justice, honour and integrity.(Fig.9) Macdonald tells an astonished Mackenzie: "I admit took the money and bribed the electors with it. Is there anything wrong about that?."(38) With this viewpoint as Bengough's précis of Macdonald's argument, little wonder that the Prime Minister's position was depicted

harshly by the artist as simply untenable. The words ascribed to Macdonald were perhaps libelous, but Bengough echoed a common perception of the events.

On 10 June 1871, a Nast cartoon had appeared in Harper's Weekly picturing the gigantic thumb of Boss William Marcy Tweed crushing the skyline of New York City. Entitiled "Under the Thumb," it was sub-titled: "Well, what are you going to do about it?", a quote ascribed to Tweed and evidencing his invulnerability.(39) The cartoon was small, barely one sixth of page as reproduced, but it instantly became one of Nast's best known works, representing the voice of moral outrage in New York.(40) The contextual similarities between this work and Bengough's cartoon of the 26th are impossible to ignore. Bengough was familiar with all of Nast's work and there can be little doubt that as the summer parliamentary recess went on, the arrogance of Macdonald, in its blatancy, forcibly called to mind the incredible ego of the once seemingly invincible Boss Tweed. The Nast cartoons of Tweed did not drive Tweed from political office, the mounting evidence of incredible corruption, bribery, and embezzelment that appeared in the New York Press; a crusading Albany state investigator; and an election where the forces for progressive reform were marshalled, dethroned the Boss Politician.(41) Nevertheless, the contemporary perception was that Nast's powerfully revealing pen did indeed put an end to William Marcy Tweed -- a common perspective that Bengough

shared.(42) How similar "So what are you going to do about it?" sounds to "Is there anything wrong about that?." With this Grip cartoon, Bengough made one of the most telling and evoking statements of his career.

A September poem written by Bengough attests to his fears that Macdonald was untouchable in Ottawa:

"Lines"
(picked up near the Mail office)

Who killed Sir John?
I, says Huntington,
With my big gun,
I killed Sir John!

Who saw him die?
I, says the Globe,
At Riviere du Loup,
I saw him die!

Who wants his blood?
I, says Mackenzie,
I'm in a frenzy,
To have his blood!

Who'll dig his grave?
I, says Ed. Blake,
And a fine speech I'll make,
Over his grave!

But Sir John didn't die!
And the birds of the air
fell a singing and crowin'
To find that statesman
and papers so knowin'
We're fooled and Sir John didn't die!(43)

Nevertheless, as the recall of parliament drew close in early October, the Liberal opposition, as noted by Bengough, grew increasingly confident that events were "Progressing

Favourably"(Fig.10) and Macdonald's ministry was in jeopardy.(44) In Bengough's words, this cartoon provided:

> A peep into the hearts of Reform leaders during the interesting period of Sir John Macdonald's political "indisposition." The "Poor Dear Premier" may be seen, if the reader will take the trouble to peer into the bedroom.(45)

Using one of his few action compositions, Bengough repeated the circus motif with "Will He Get Through?"(Fig.11) reflecting the daily increasing unlikelihood that Macdonald's Conservatives would survive the impending October recall of parliament. With a distinguished George Brown as ringmaster, Lord Dufferin, insightfully dressed as an acrobat, holds the large hoop of prorogation through which Macdonald had successfully passed through in August. Mackenzie's hoop is significantly smaller, as were Macdonald's chances of avoiding the condemnation of parliament.(46)

Four days before the meeting of parliament, Macdonald's fate became tenuous. The Prime Minister received a letter from the Governor-General that began reassuringly, listing the charges of which Macdonald had been cleared. The missive ominously continued with the statement that there was no doubt that his ministry had received extravagant sums of money from a person with whom Macdonald was negotiating with on behalf of the Dominion. Dufferin's communication concluded with:

> ...as Minister of Justice and the official guardian and protector of the laws -- your responsibilities are

> exceptional and your personal connection with what has passed cannot but fatally affect your position as minister.(47)

The letter was not a dismissal, but a warning. The Governor-General wanted parliament to decide Macdonald's fate. While Dufferin would in times of disagreement often acede to the wishes of his Canadian first minister, it would be under severe personal stress. Dufferin was in the final context, as Bengough had optimistically perceived him to be, a "painfully honest man," devoted to the British concepts of duty, always holding uppermost the belief in sacrifice for principle.(48)

The confidence of the Conservative Party had suffered during a "bad Autumn" and Macdonald, uncertain over whether there were still more damaging letters and telegraphs yet to appear, seriously considered among his cabinet colleagues the wisdom of immediate resignation.(49) Macdonald decided to ride out the political storm, but the cause was quickly seen to be hopeless. To make events worse, Macdonald had been drinking for some time, apparently in anticipatory dread, and thereby deprived the Conservative Party of the full extent of his parliamentary abilities. Fearful of further revelations in a speech from Edward Blake, Macdonald delayed his address to parliament to the last possible moment.(50) In spite of being supplied continuously with gin during his four hour speech, Macdonald's address was brilliant -- yet ineffectual.(51) Parliament became a rout for the Conservatives as member after member defected from the side

of Macdonald. The prime minister met with his cabinet and it was accepted that the party could no longer hope to retain a majority in the House. Macdonald visited with the Governor-General on the morning of November 5th; that afternoon he rose to inform parliament:

> I have it therefore in charge from his excellency to state that he has accepted the resignation of the present administration, and I have his authority to state that he has sent for Mr. Mackenzie, the leader of the opposition to form a government.(52)

The resignation of the government, though expected, was still a dramatic shock. Perhaps only the more experienced opposition members showed a presence of mind when they rushed across the Commons floor to the Government benches to reserve for themselves the best seats.(53)

Bengough, too, was caught off guard by the fall of the Conservatives. He needed a cartoon that would best suit the Liberal Reform view of the occasion. However, his fertile mind had gone dry and his printer was "crowding" him for a drawing "to put on the stone before zero hour struck at the printing office."(54) With his deadline forty minutes away, Bengough cast his mind back over the various ideas that had gone into his Grip cartoons over the past months. He recalled his first experiment with lithography and the caricature of the Conservative editor of the Leader, James Beaty. In appropriate reprise, Bengough brushed in the figure of Beaty wearing mourning dress, attending

the funeral of the Conservative ministry. "Of Comfort No Man Speak"(Fig.12) became one of his best known cartoons.(56) As Thomas Bengough noted in retrospect: "It may safely be said that among all the cartoons which made Grip famous, that of old Jimmie Beaty, was in the front rank." In Ottawa, all the copies of that issue were "feverishly" bought up and further bundles had to be shipped to the capital by train to meet the demand.

The Pacific Scandal had cost the Conservatives the government, but Macdonald had not been about to leave office without some spoils. One hundred patronage appointments were made between October 5th and November 5th. The New Brunswick Reporter concluded that "the outgoing government [looked] upon their case as a lost cause, which they will never attempt to regain."(57) Indeed, it seemed that Macdonald's ministry left office never expecting to regain power.(58) This "dying iniquity" on behalf of Macdonald was captured within "The Political Mother Hubbard."(Fig.13)(59) As the new Prime Minister, Alexander Mackenzie commented during a speech in Sarnia:

> The Ottawa administration did not die without resorting to their usual tricks. You have seen a cartoon in Grip, representing Mother Hubbard looking for some appointments that were supposed to be left in the political pantry -- (cheers and laughter). "But it seems from the picture, that they were all away before she could reach it, for Sir John A. Macdonald is seen stealing out at the door, with a hundred of them in his pocket; while Mr. John Crawford, in the shape of a little dog is represented as trotting away with that bone in his mouth (loud cheers and laughter). Sirs, there is no little significance in that picture (Hear,

Hear).(60)

A poem accompanied the cartoon from which these lines are of interest:

"The New Mother Hubbard"

....when New Mother Hubbard went to the cupboard,
To get her old friend a bone --
lo to her despair, the cupboard was bare --
And she knew t'was that scalliwag John.(61)

The "old friend" George Brown, featured prominently in the cartoon as a patient dog, was rumoured to be in line for the post of Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario -- the bone which Crawford had "escaped" with. To be read and quoted by a prime minister and to have the governor-general's name upon Grip's subscription list no doubt qualified Bengough for the role of a public pundit.

Throughout the series of Pacific Scandal Cartoons, Macdonald had naturally enough, considering Bengough's bias, been presented as an unscruplous and crafty manipulator. It was surprising that in contrast Mackenzie had not taken on the role of model statesman. The 'cartoon' Mackenzie was always submerged to the comic intent of the cartoon, whether it was in clown's costume(Fig.11), cabby garb(Fig.2), a chef's apron(Fig.3), or ordinary attire(Fig.1). Though in all representations, Mackenzie maintained a certain dignity of presentation. It is then with some surprise that in the wake of the Conservative fiasco that Bengough should create a cartoon so blatant in its propaganda

value that humour escapes it entirely. "The Premier's Model"(Fig.14) is in vivid contrast to the manner of cynic observer, from which Bengough treated the events of the Pacific Scandal.(62) Though it made a poor cartoon, this drawing was a concise statement of those values for which Bengough had fought his cartoon campaign. The engraved creed of "Electoral Purity and Independence of Parliament" positively echoed the long held reform fears of "a government working a political machine for the benefit of a party"(63) The Reform Liberals had always felt that undue power and influence in the hands of the executive led to corruption. In the legislative session prior to the breaking of the Pacific Scandal, the Liberals in vain drew attention to the past abuses of unchecked executive power in debating the encompassing powers the Canadian Pacific Railroad Bill gave the ministry to award the charter without parliamentary review. The scandals of the Grand Trunk and Intercolonial railways were fresh in the reformers' collective memory.(64) As a précis of such beliefs, "The Premier's Model" was archetypal, but the statement was too overt to compare favourably with its more sophisticated cartoon predecessors.

In a cartoon that stands as an apt postscript to the Pacific Scandal cartoons, the "Christmas Pie"(Fig.15) illustrated that Bengough could view the more materialistic aspects of political power with good humour. In "J.W. Bengough and the Millenium in Hogtown," Stan Kutcher believes that:

> As a social critic, [Bengough] judged men's actions in terms of moral absolutes -- unqualified rights pitted against abject wrongs. Activities were either just or unjust, fair or unfair, Christian or un-Christian. There could be no middle ground.(65)

This is, of course, too simplistic a portrayal of Bengough's human nature. There was a middle ground. Bengough was perhaps youthfully idealistic but not overtly naive. In the same manner that Bengough could overlook writer Tom Boylan's occasional bouts with the bottle, take with gracious humour engraver William Stewart's vehemenous atheist arguments, and strike journalist Hector Charlesworth with his kindly views that softened his "angularity"(66), Bengough looked at society and politics with a flexibility born from his being a cynical student of human foibles. The "Christmas Pie" underscored Bengough's understanding of the rather basic nature of political power-seeking. But beyond his insight, he makes an enduring analogy of the politician as a small child under the motherly guidance of Maiden Canada.(67) In the further spirit of the season, Grip presented a number of thoughtful gifts to Canada's political personalities:

"Grip's Christmas Gifts"

To Hon. Alex. Mackenzie he gave a properly executed Lease of Power for an indefinite period.

To Hon. Geo. Brown he gave a copy of Milton's Paradise Restored.

To Att'y-Gen. Mowat he sent his compliments.

To Hon. Edward Blake he sent a handsomely embroidered

Portfolio -- only intended for ornament.

To Mr. James Beaty M.P. he gave a clearly printed copy of the Pleasures of Hope.

To Sir John A. Macdonald he presented a fine edition of Barnaby Rudge, underlining Grip's oft-repeated ejaculation, "Never say die!"(68)

* * *

In 1873, J.W. Bengough had an undisputed, but raw, artistic talent. Thirty-five years later, Bengough reflected that both the and the had been less enlightened on the subject of cartoon art during Grip's early days:

> It is an amazement to me whenever I dare to look into those early numbers how I ever allowed the drawings to pass; but I marvel more at the good nature of the public," which not only tolerated but applauded them.(69)

He concluded that perhaps the public cared less about artistic presentation "provided the point is clearly brought out and has the element of humour or pathos in it."(70) It is clear that the cartoons during Grip's first year of existence were rather crudely rendered. The use of cross-hatching was undisciplined, often resulting in muddy grey tones and a sketchy appearance. Compositions, especially when dealing with a large number of internal elements, were not not well thought out -- though "Blackwash and Whitewash"(Fig.7) is a notable exception as it is well-focused around the bust of Macdonald and uses the diagonals

of the tar brushes to provide a strong horizontal unity.

Bengough's work was also of a frankly derivative nature. He patterned his style after that of Nast, who in turn had borrowed from the techniques of John Tenniel. Bengough's cartoons were never as accomplished as either, but in serendipity his often undisciplined line avoided the stiltedness that characterized many nineteenth century works. With heavy regimented lines, the early cartoons of J.B. Walker and Edward Jump definitely belonged to an earlier age of editorial cartooning. Without a certain undefinible mannerism and exaggeration in a drawing, such work was more illustration than cartoon. Bengough was the first Canadian cartoonist to release himself from the 'illustrative' constraints of the nineteenth century. This 'easy' line of Bengough's was due in part to the nature of lithography, as this method of reproduction bred a loose brush or pen style. This was a style that Bengough did not change in later years though printing techniques did change.

While Bengough showed a lack of technical skill in comparison with traditional cartoonists, he possessed an untrained artistic genius that manifested itself in brilliant caricatures that seemed to live and breath upon the printed page. Though to modern eyes, Bengough's cartoons seem over-worked and crowded, they are still the first true modern Canadian editorial cartoons, possessing a masterful humourous and indigenous feel for the Canadian political situation. Even his most intense

attacks were drawn in a loose colloquial style that could not help but evoke a smile. It was with the faces of his cartoon figures that Bengough especially triumphed. The uncombed hair and the potato nose of Macdonald, the lost look so often apparent in Mackenzie's face, and the debonair regal visage of Dufferin were all prime examples of Bengough's fine sense of caricature. Bengough freed cartoons from their illustrative roots and created a tradition of Canadian editorial cartooning. A tradition that not only reflected a looser and more humourous artistic style, but also a tradition in which the cartoon was a respected and legitimate form of editorial comment.

Never the ideologue, Bengough's political philosophy did not embrace any tenets deeper than the common sense morality of the Liberal Reformers. Bengough was foremost an artist. He was never a politician beyond the stature of alderman, and his efforts in the various reform groups in which he involved himself were limited by the very multitude of his interests. The role of Grip in his personal life enriched him monetarily, in addition to offering a forum for his political and social views, and granting him no small measure of contemporary national fame. Indeed, in 1887 he found himself as the guest of honour at a dinner in New York hosted by the Canadian Club. Some of the finest editorial cartoonists in the United States were among the guests invited to this tribute to Bengough. Keppler of Puck, Gillam and Hamilton of Judge, McVicar of Life, and Thomas Nast of Harper's Weekly all

attended. Bengough was impressed and flattered by the "good fellowship," and received as a token of his peers' esteem a etching drawn by Thomas Nast.(71) Grip brought Bengough to a pinnacle within the artistic world of editorial cartooning, earning him the approbation of some of the world's finest cartoonists and a tribute from a spiritual artistic mentor, Nast.

As the artist of Grip, even in its first year of publication, Bengough rapidly achieved the status of social pundit -- if defined only in terms of a readership that included common citizen, prime minister, and governor-general alike. In the concise visual shorthand of the cartoon, he captured the pulse of a nation, not only during the period of the Pacific Scandal but for the extent of his life, as attested to by the twenty year run of Grip and subsequent engagements.

Cartoons perhaps do not lead public opinion, but they do define and redefine the public's perceptions and concerns in a manner that allows an ease of communication far in excess of the written editorial. Fortunately, Bengough seldom preached in his Grip work. Sermons are uncomfortable, as was the "Premier's Model"(Fig.14) Instead he presented points of view that could be easily accepted, not because the championship of parliamentary supremacy and the common man were perhaps uniquely Liberal Reform concepts, but rather because they were common sense expressions of a society that while it accepted privilege, it rejected despotism.

Bengough's contribution to the development of the Canadian nation and culture was qualitative and not quantitative. To be sure one can count the cartoons, they total close to two thousand expressions of Bengough's value judgements. But what he gave to his era cannot be calculated numerically. He stood for the Liberal Reform values that constantly argued for the democratic reform of the inequities of society. What was more important, Bengough could be seen as to stand for these values. Every week's Grip cartoon was a testimonial to his beliefs. In addition, Bengough was "a genuine funmaker for many thousands of people."(72) He added a sense of humour to political conflict, a humour not only to be enjoyed by those political participants in the know, but by the nation as a whole. Bengough had a powerful voice. The politician could perhaps laugh at himself, but a part of him would always step back to ask if this line representation upon the printed page was indeed how the public viewed him. Under J.W. Bengough, the Canadian editorial cartoon had truly come of age.

FIG. 1

"AFTER THE SESSION; OR, 'THE SITUATION.'" 123

J. A. M—C—D—N—LD.—"COME ON, OLD FELLOW, IT'S ALL RIGHT, YOU KNOW; IT'S MY TURN TO TREAT!"

A. M—K—NZ—E.—"OH, AYE, JONEY! BUT Y'MAUN RECOLLEC' I'M TE TOTAL—MORE ESPEECIALLY TILL AUGUST!"

FIG. 2

"DUFFERIN'S TORMENTORS, OR *PER VIAS RECTAS.*"

J—N A. (ANXIOUSLY).—"CARRIAGE, SIR? 'MINISTERIAL' HOTEL—ONLY CONSTITUTIONAL PLACE IN THE CITY—COME ALONG WITH ME, SIR."

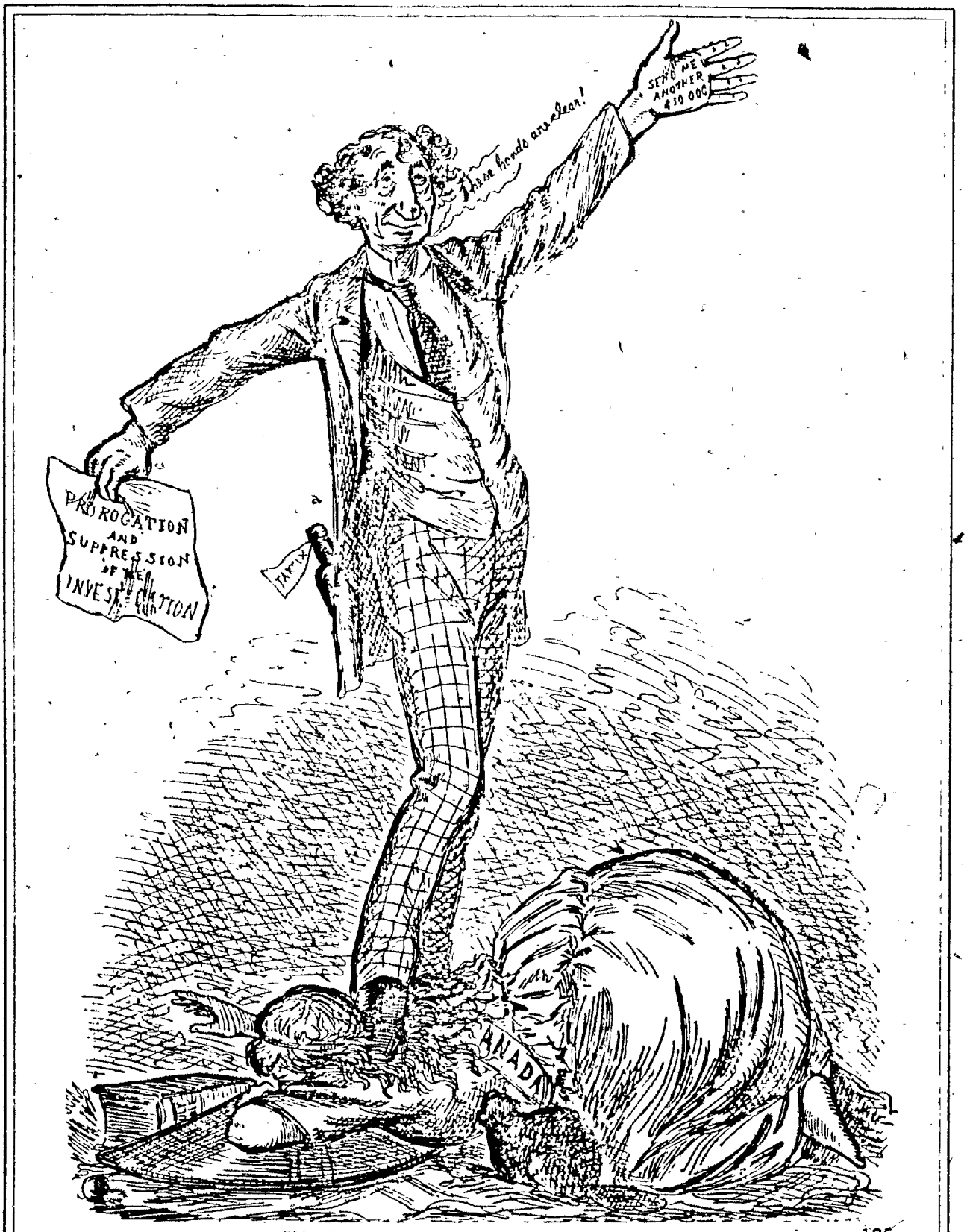
Mc—K—NZ—(EAGERLY)—"THIS WAY, MY LORD—'REFORM' HOUSE! TAK' THE RIGHT COURSE—GIE' US YER CHECKS!!"

L—D D—FF—N.—"MUCH OBLIGED, GENTLEMEN, I ASSURE YOU; BUT I HAVE A 'RIG' OF MY OWN AT HAND, YOU KNOW."

FIG. 3

"ISN'T THAT A DAINTY DISH TO SET BEFORE A KING?"--NURSERY RHYME.

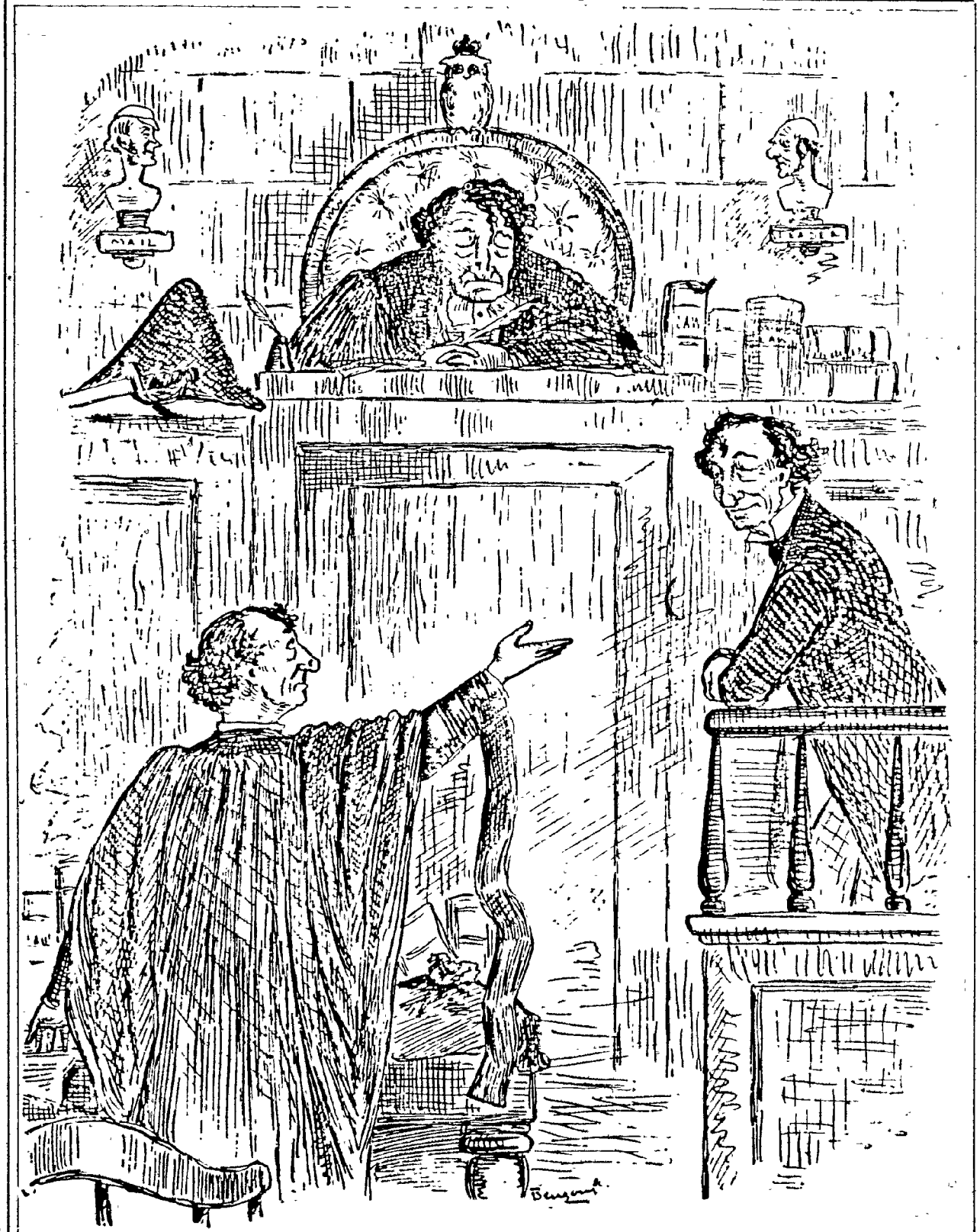
FIG. 4



WHITHER ARE WE DRIFTING?

126

FIG. 5

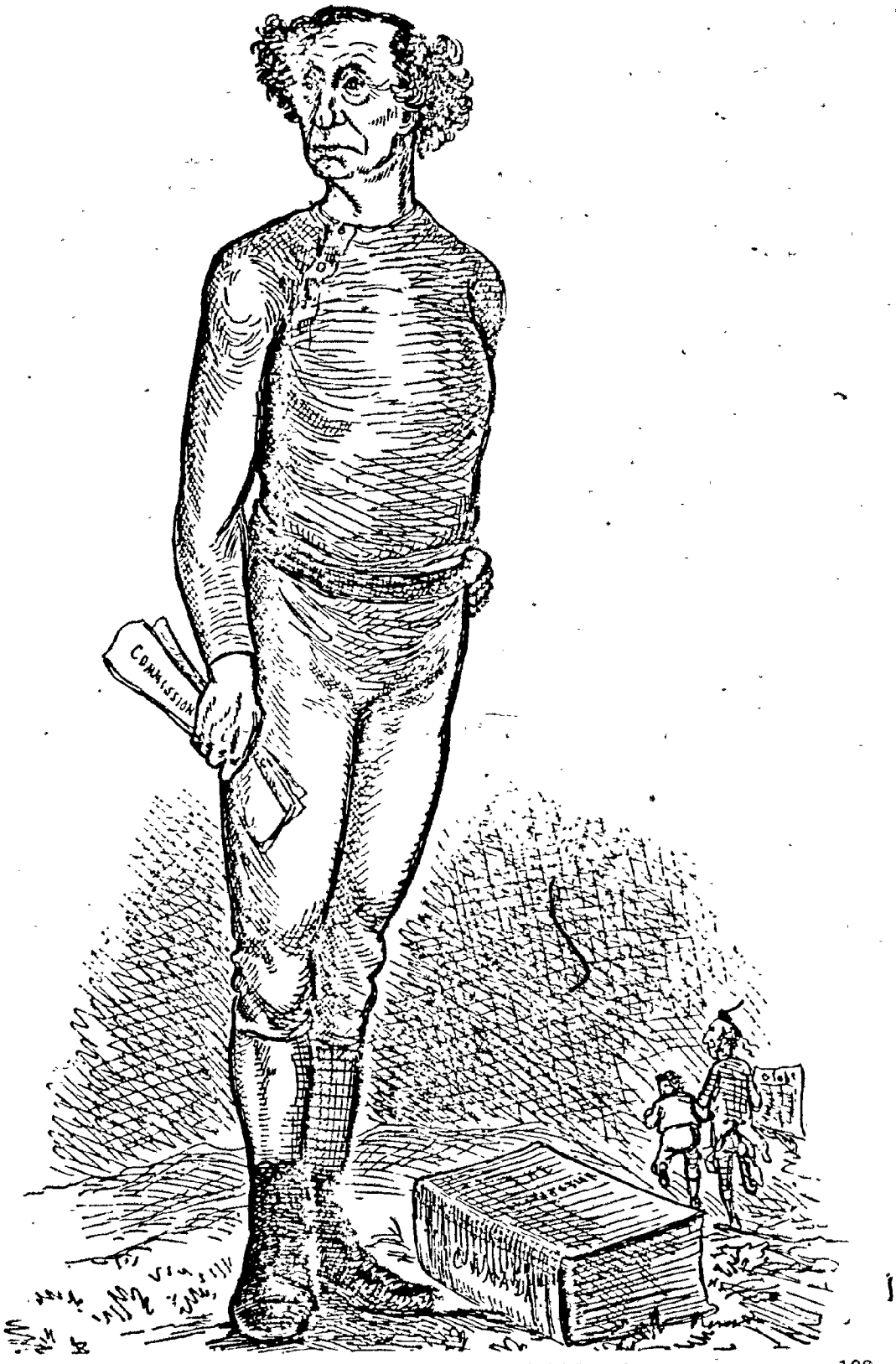


THE BEAUTIES OF A ROYAL COMMISSION

"WHEN SHALL WE THREE MEET AGAIN?"

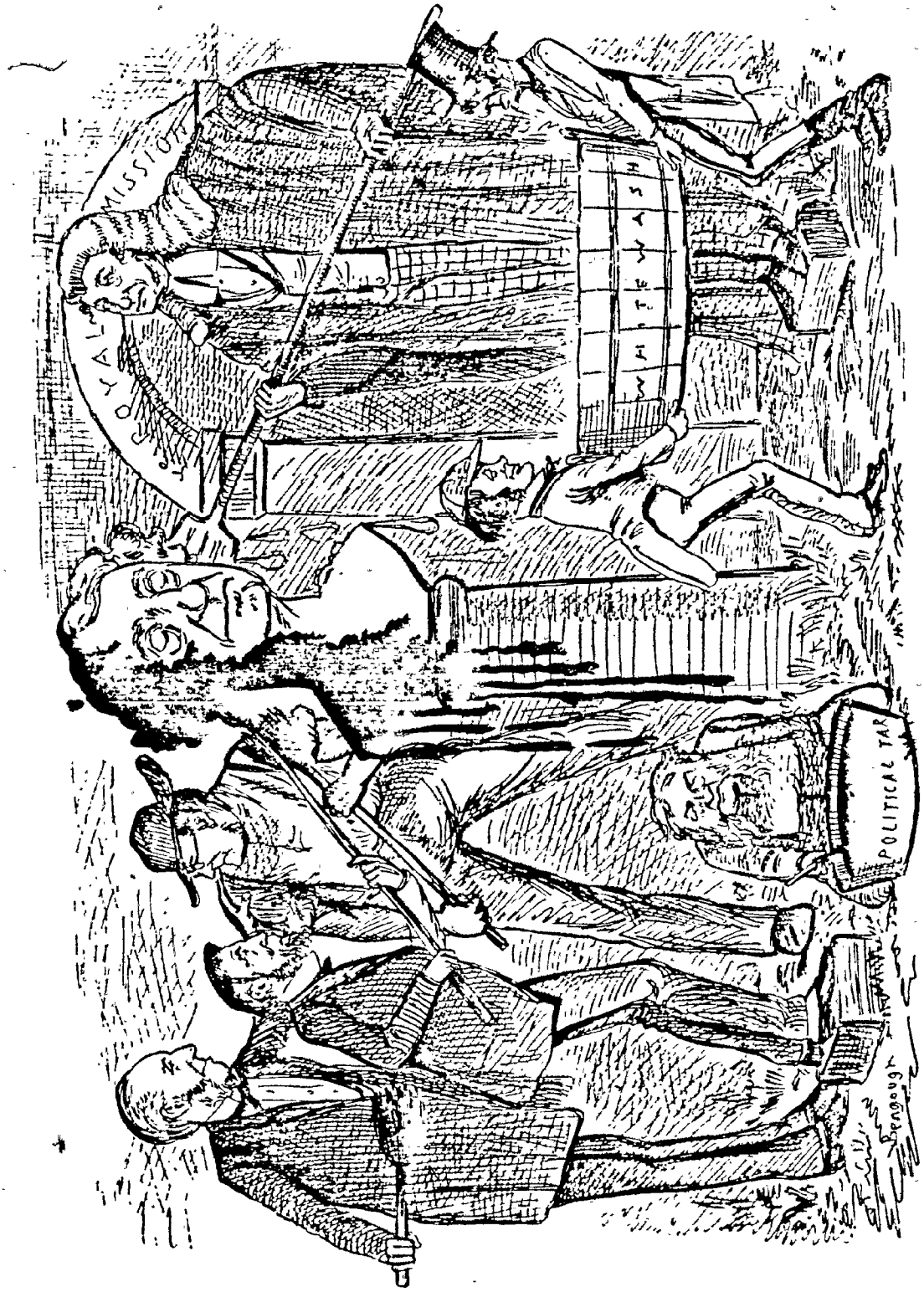
127

FIG. 6



WAITING FOR HUNTINGTON!

FIG. 7



BLACKWASH AND WHITEWASH.

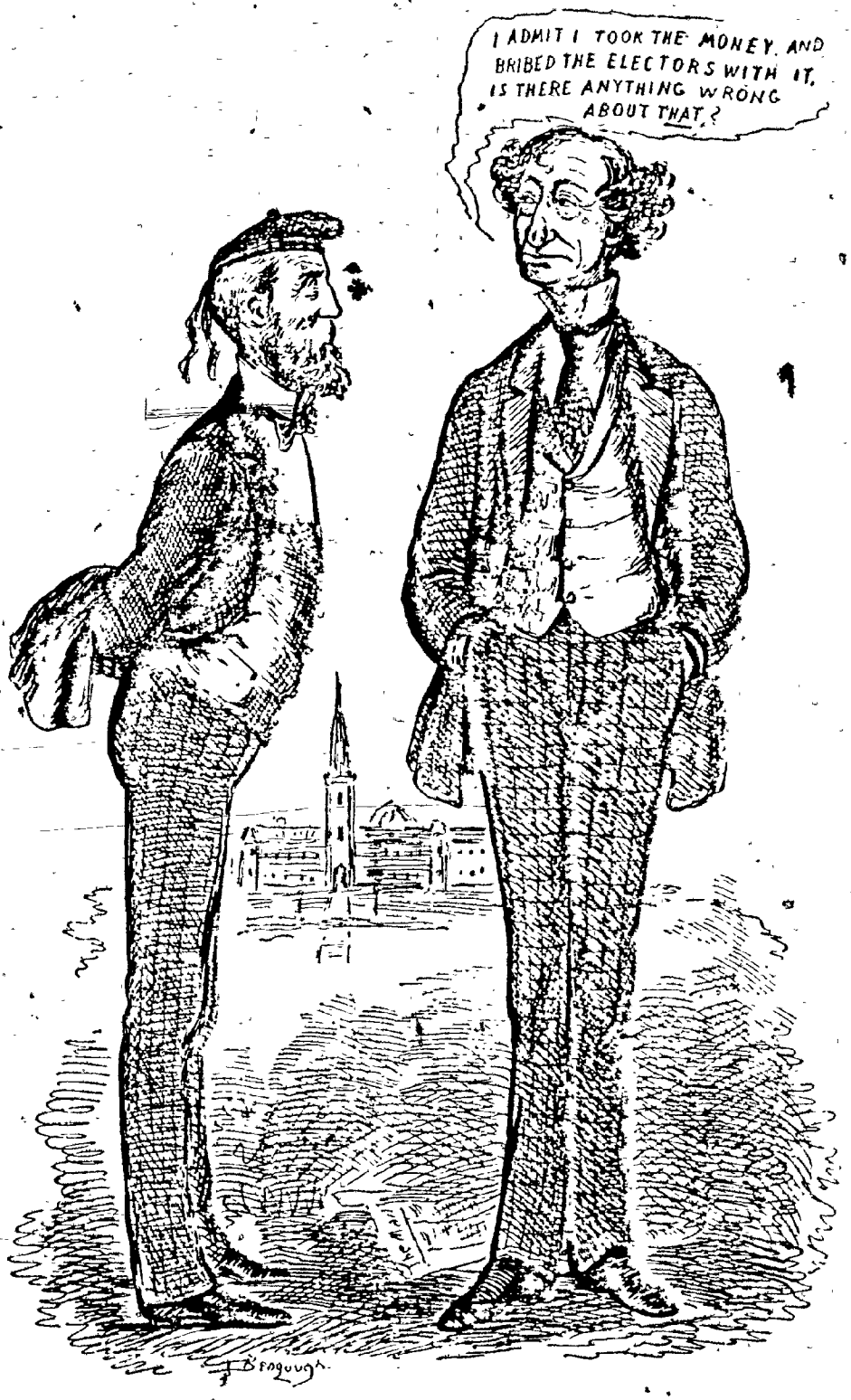
ILLUSTRATING THE RECENT GREAT OPPOSITION SPEECHES, AND THE DOINGS OF THE JOLLY ROYAL COMMISSION.

FIG. 8

THE IRREPRESSIBLE SHOWMAN.

BARNUM WANTS TO BUY THE "PACIFIC SCANDAL."

FIG. 9



"WE IN CANADA SEEM TO HAVE LOST ALL IDEA OF JUSTICE, HONOR AND INTEGRITY."—THE MAIL, 26TH SEPTEMBER.

FIG. 16

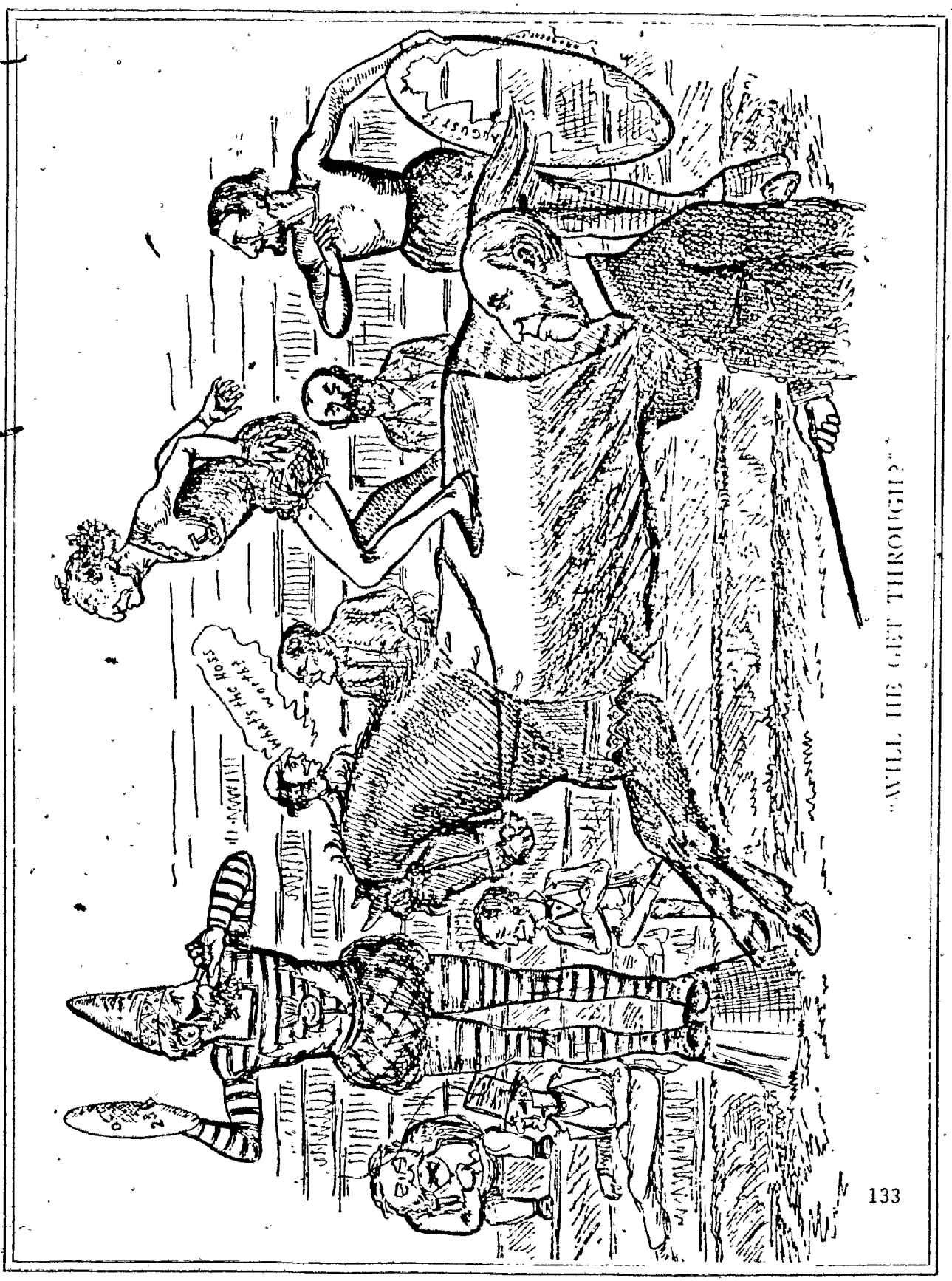
132

"PROGRESSING FAVORABLY."

MISS CANADA (Anxiously).—"DOCTORS, HOW DO YOU FIND THE POOR DEAR PREMIER?"

DR. B—N (For the M.D.'s).—"MADAM, WE'VE JUST HAD A CONSULTATION; THE SYMPTOMS ARE HOPEFUL—WE BELIEVE HE CAN'T SURVIVE OCTOBER."

FIG. 11



"WILL HE GET THROUGH?"

FIG. 12

"OF COMFORT NO MAN SPEAK;
LET'S TALK OF GRAVES AND WORMS AND EPITAPHS!"—SHAKESPEARE.

FIG. 13

THE POLITICAL MOTHER HUBBARD

AND JOHN A'S "DYING INIQUITY"

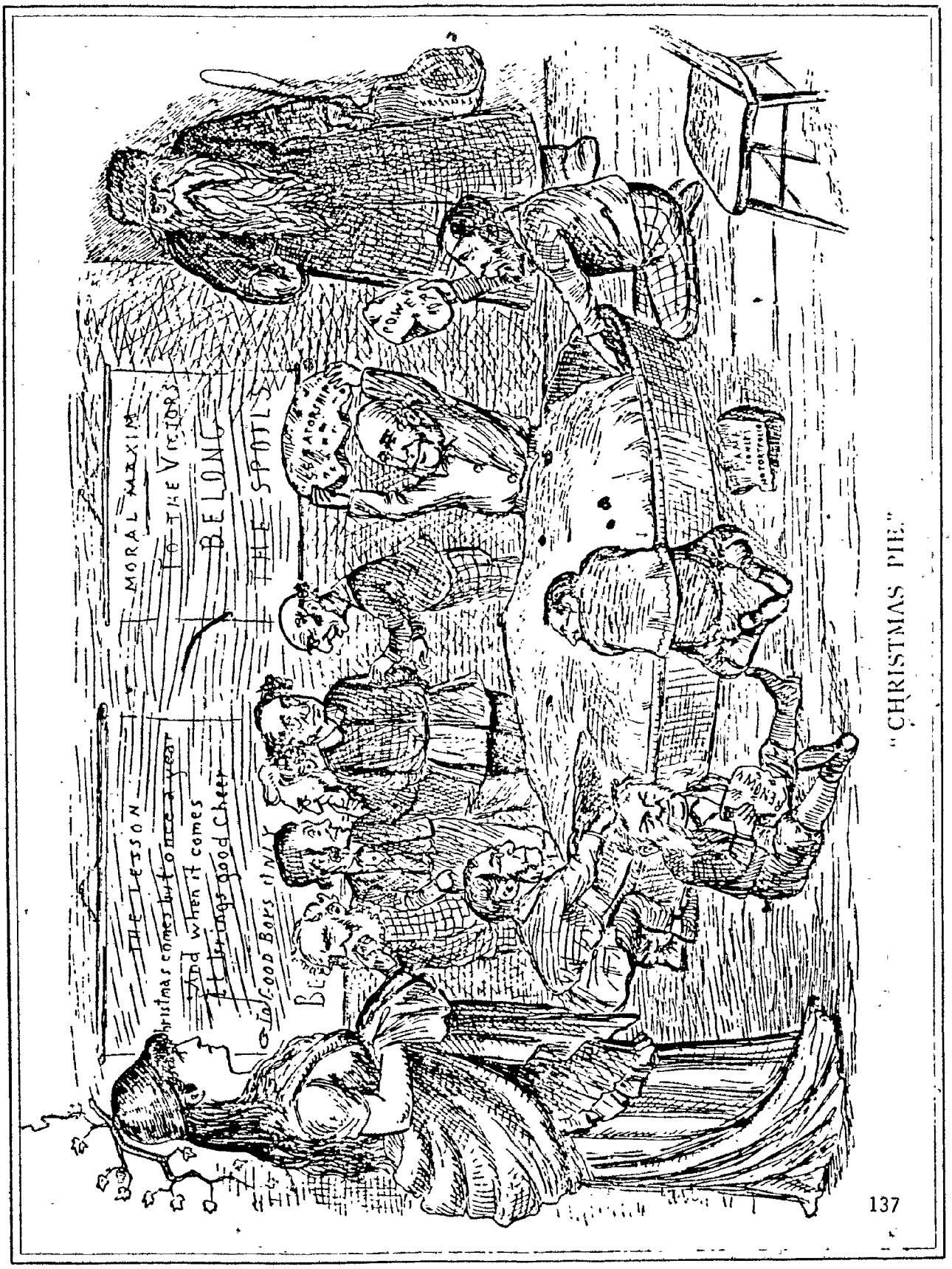
FIG. 14

THE PREMIER'S MODEL;

OR, "IMPLEMENTS TO THOSE WHO CAN USE THEM."

CANADA—"WELL AND BRAVELY DONE, MACKENZIE; NOW STAND BY THAT POLICY, AND I'M WITH YOU ALWAYS!"

FIG. 15



"CHRISTMAS PIE."

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(1) W.L. Morton, The Critical Years: The Union of British North America 1857-1873 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1964), p.267.

(2) Donald Creighton, John A. Macdonald: The Old Chieftain (Toronto: McMillan, 1955), pp.78,80.

(3) Ibid., p.84.

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(5) Ibid., p.105.

(6) Morton, pp.267-268.

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(8) Frank H. Underhill, "Some Aspects of Upper Canadian Radical Opinion in the Decade before Confederation," Canadian Historical Association Report 1927, p.1.
Underhill, "Political Ideas...," p.104.

(9) Joseph Pope, Memoirs of the Right Honourable Sir John Alexander Macdonald (Toronto: Oxford University Press, revised edition, 1930), p.510.

(10) Morton, p.268.

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(14) Morton, p.273.
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(16) Morton, pp.274-275.
Creighton, pp.158-160.

(17) Berton, p.94.

(18) Jack Batten, "Penciling the Purveyors of Power," The Review, Vol.68, No.4, 1984 (Toronto: Imperial Oil Ltd.)

(19) Grip, 24 May 1873.

(20) Grip, 31 May 1873.

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(22) Grip, 2 August 1873.

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(24) Ibid., pp.ix, xiii, xix.

(25) Grip, 9 August 1873.

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(28) John Wardroper, The Caricatures of George Cruikshank (London: Gordon Fraser, 1977), p.9.

(29) Grip, 31 August 1873.

(30) Grip, 1 November 1873.

(31) Creighton, p.168.

(32) Ibid., p.148.

(33) Grip, 20 September 1873.

(34) Grip, 20 August 1873.

(35) Grip, 13 September 1873.

(36) Grip, 1 November 1873.

(37) Bengough, The Grip Cartoons, notes to cartoon 17.

(38) Grip, 27 September 1873.

(39) Harper's Weekly, 10 June 1871.

(40) Paine, pp.158-165.

(41) Blake, p.32.

(42) J.W. Bengough, Feb.1909, p.74.

(43) Grip, 20 September 1873.

(44) Grip, 4 October 1873.

(45) Bengough, The Grip Cartoons, notes to cartoon 18.

(46) Grip, 18 October 1873.

(47) Creighton, pp.170-171.

(48) Kiewiet and Underhill, pp.xiii,xxiii.

(49) Creighton, p.173.
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(50) Waite, p.14.

(51) Ibid., pp.13-14.

(52) Creighton, p.178.

(53) Waite,p.15.

(54) T. Bengough, p.10.

(55) Grip, 1 October 1873.

(56) T. Bengough, p.10.

(57) New Brunswick Reporter, quoted in Waite, p.19.

(58) Waite, p.18.

(59) Grip, 15 October 1873.

(60) Grip, 29 October 1873, reprinted from Globe.

(61) Grip, 15 November 1873.

(62) Grip, 29 November 1873.

(63) Underhill, "Some Aspects...," p.5.

(64) Underhill, "Political Ideas...," p.105.

(65) Kutcher, p.32.

(66) J.W. Bengough, March 1909, pp.186,189.
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(67) Grip, 27 December 1873.

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APPENDIX: REFERENCE LISTING OF THE PACIFIC SCANDAL CARTOONS --

	Date	Cartoon
(1)	31/5/73	"After the Session," Fig.1.
(2)	21/6/73	"The Handwriting..."
(3)	5/7/73	"The Huntington Business"
(4)	19/7/73	"Canada's Laocoon"
(5)	26/7/73	"Will He Come to Grief"
(6)	2/8/73	"Dufferin's Tormentors," Fig.2.
(7)	9/8/73	"Isn't That a Dainty Dish," Fig.3.
(8)	16/8/73	"Whither Are We Drifting," Fig.4.
(9)	23/8/73	"The Beauties of a Royal Commission," Fig.6.
(10)	30/8/73	"Waiting for Huntington," Fig.5.
(11)	6/9/73	"Wanted a Good Stout Boy"
(12)	13/9/73	"The Irrepressible Showman," Fig.7.
(13)	20/9/73	"Blackwash and Whitewash," Fig.8.
(14)	27/9/73	"We In Canada Seem...," Fig.9.
(15)	4/10/73	"Progressing Favourably," Fig.10.
(16)	11/10/73	"Rehearsing For the 23rd Instant"
(17)	18/10/73	"Will He Get Through," Fig.11.
(18)	1/11/73	"Of Comfort No Man Speak," Fig.12.

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